

INTERNATIONAL SURVEY
OF THE
YOUNG MEN'S AND YOUNG WOMEN'S
CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATIONS

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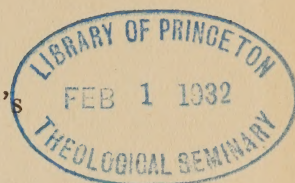
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INTERNATIONAL SURVEY

OF THE

✓ YOUNG MEN'S AND YOUNG WOMEN'S ✓

CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATIONS



*An Independent Study of the
Foreign Work of the Christian
Associations of the United
States and Canada*

THE INTERNATIONAL SURVEY COMMITTEE

419 FOURTH AVENUE

NEW YORK

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BY
DANIEL J. FLEMING

Printed and bound in the United States of America by
J. J. LITTLE & IVES COMPANY, NEW YORK

FOREWORD

The International Survey Committee herewith presents the report of the survey made under its direction of the work carried on by the Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations of North America in other countries. The Committee has maintained a close relationship with the staff throughout the study. It has held frequent meetings to receive progress reports, to pass on questions of survey policy, to give counsel to the staff in matters of procedure and to criticise manuscripts as submitted by the staff.

Without assuming responsibility for specific findings and judgments, for which it is believed the staff should be responsible, the Committee approves the report as a whole and commends it for careful study to the Associations and to those interested in their work.

The Committee records its appreciation of the thoroughgoing cooperation it has received from the executives of the movements studied, both in the home offices and abroad.

DANIEL J. FLEMING, *Chairman*
WILLIAM F. RUSSELL, *Vice-Chairman*
MARTHA B. FINLEY, *Secretary*
WILLIAM M. KINGSLEY, *Treasurer*
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FLORENCE WHITNEY FOSDICK
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INTRODUCTION

A. THE SURVEY PROCESS

THE International Survey of the Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations originated in the Foreign Committee of the National Councils of the Young Men's Christian Associations of the United States and Canada as a result of conferences with representatives of one of the large foundations. Need was felt for a study of the entire field of work of the Foreign Committee in order to determine priority among projects for which financial resources might be sought. The Foreign Committee's income was not keeping pace with increased demands for service. In fact, a financial crisis was imminent because the Foreign Committee had been obliged to assume the burden of the new European movements, launched at the close of the war by means of reconstruction funds which had since been practically exhausted.

There was also the fact that the foreign work of the Young Men's Christian Associations had been going on for about forty years and no attempt had been made to appraise it on a large scale. If the work was to continue it was desirable not only that some frank appraisal should be made upon which an authoritative presentation of the work to prospective givers might be based, but that new light should be thrown on ever present questions concerning the allocation of funds as between one country and another, as between different centers in a given country, and as between various types of work. Thus, while the financial situation of the Foreign Committee was the immediate occasion of the survey, the felt need of an appraisal of the foreign work would have warranted the study without reference to the question of finance.

As the proposal for a survey matured, late in 1927, in discussions between representatives of the Foreign Committee and officers of the Foundation, it became apparent that the Foreign Division of the National Board of the Young Women's Christian

Association should be asked to participate in the study. This suggestion met with favor in the National Board, which approved the proposal in January, 1928, and steps were taken to initiate the survey. Inasmuch as the foreign work of the Canadian Young Women's Christian Association is not, as in the case of the YMCA, conducted by a joint committee representing both Canada and the United States, the Foreign Department of the Young Women's Christian Association of the Dominion of Canada was asked to participate directly in the survey. A committee was formed to direct the study consisting of the following persons: ¹

Daniel J. Fleming, Chairman
William F. Russell, Vice-Chairman
Mrs. John H. Finley, Secretary
William M. Kingsley, Treasurer
Miss C. C. Benson
Mrs. Harry Emerson Fosdick
Rufus M. Jones
William H. Kilpatrick
Adrian Lyon
Miss Florence M. Read

Several members of the Committee were chosen because their contacts with the organizations under survey would bring to the deliberations insight not otherwise obtainable. These members, however, have acted not as representatives but in their personal capacity. Their acceptance of the report in no sense or degree commits the organizations. Of these, Mrs. John H. Finley represented the Foreign Division of the Young Women's Christian Associations in the United States, Judge Adrian Lyon the Foreign Committee of the Young Men's Christian Association, and Dr. C. C. Benson the Foreign Department of the National Council of the Young Women's Christian Association of the Dominion of Canada.²

¹ Miss Jane Addams was named a member of the Committee but was obliged to resign before it began its work. Colonel Gerald W. Birks, of Montreal, was a member of the Committee during the pre-survey stage but was replaced when he joined the staff of the Foreign Committee as a volunteer secretary. Mr. Allan W. Dullas was also appointed a member but was unable to serve.

² Although, technically, the term "Foreign Division" as applied to the YMCA denotes only an administrative unit of the American National Council, for the

The following instructions, agreed upon by the Associations and the Foundation, were placed in the hands of the International Survey Committee for its guidance in the conduct of the survey:

1. Emphasis shall be laid upon the study of the work and of the fields of opportunity of the two organizations from the point of view of the largest statesmanship, with a view to discovering what curtailments, modifications, or advances in policies and program promise the largest release of constructive forces within each country and community.
2. The survey shall also make a study of the supporting constituency in this country, including the objectives of the work as seen by them, and the measure of their prospective support.
3. Since the work in all the countries in which the Young Women's Christian Associations and Young Men's Christian Associations are cooperating is in the hands of autonomous national movements, the study is to be carried forward from the beginning with the fullest participation of those movements.
4. To the degree that the method is consistent with sound procedure, the leaders of the communities and Associations studied are to be given an active part in the process of survey and appraisal, in order that the results and methods may be built into the life of the national and local organizations.

The Foundation made available a small appropriation for the purpose of preparing a plan for the study in line with these general principles and canvassing the feasibility of the project. George S. Counts, Professor of Education in Teachers College, and F. Ernest Johnson, of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, were engaged to prepare a plan for the inquiry. They presented such a plan in May, 1928, which was approved by the Committee and later by the Foundation.

It will be seen from the terms of reference that the survey concerned itself with general issues and problems. It did not undertake the evaluation of building sites, the checking up of accounting systems or other such tasks that a purely engineering survey might include.

sake of brevity the term is used in this report to indicate the administrative organization of the foreign work in either Association.

Throughout this report the term "North American" is used to designate the Associations in the United States and Canada. Where the word "American" is used the United States alone is meant.

It should also be borne in mind that the survey project was in no sense a survey of the Christian Associations throughout the world. The North American movements themselves were not surveyed except with reference to the support of the foreign work. The other "sending" movements were not surveyed at all. No Association work except that being carried on with the aid of the Foreign Divisions of the North American movements was included in the study. In this connection, a brief account of the scope and activities of the Foreign Divisions should be given.

During the period of the survey, the Foreign Committee of the National Councils of the YMCAs of the United States and Canada was the executive body responsible for the work in foreign countries carried on under the auspices of the two Councils. The International Committee, which had conducted the work abroad prior to 1924, exercised, following the organization of the National Council, only one function with respect to the foreign work, that of a trustee for endowments and a holding company for such remaining property used by foreign Associations as had not yet been transferred to them outright. At the end of the present year, 1931, the Foreign Committee will be dissolved and the administration of the foreign work will again be placed under the International Committee. Reorganization of the administration is now under way.

The foreign field of YMCA work has been divided into four areas: the Far East, Southern and Western Asia and Africa, Latin America, and Europe. The countries included in these areas are the following: China, Japan, Korea, the Philippine Islands, and Siam; Burma, Ceylon, Egypt, India, Palestine, Turkey, and the Union of South Africa; Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Cuba, Mexico, Peru, Porto Rico, and Uruguay; Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Esthonia, Greece, Italy, Jugoslavia, Latvia, Poland, Portugal, and Roumania. A work for *émigré* Russians, which centers in Paris, is also included in the European area. The survey included all these countries except Siam, Jugoslavia and Porto Rico. The first two of these were entered by North American workers during the course of the survey.

At the present time, and pending reorganization, there is an executive secretary of the Foreign Division, and an administrative secretary for each area whose function it is to carry out the

policies and decisions of the Foreign Committee and to represent the area before the Committee. The administrative secretary for Europe is stationed at Geneva. The others have their headquarters in New York, but spend approximately half time in the field. One of these is entirely self-supporting. In addition, there are two corresponding secretaries (one of whom is also an administrative secretary) who share the executive work at the New York headquarters, represent the administrative secretaries when the latter are absent on the field, and have special responsibility for matters concerning the North American secretaries abroad. Besides the staff responsible for administering the work abroad, the Foreign Committee includes a staff of six "home base" secretaries—a Canadian representative for one-third time, a medical adviser, also for fractional time, one secretary in charge of the Bureau of Information and Publicity, two assigned to the Committee on Friendly Relations among Foreign Students, and one to the partially self-supporting project known as World Brotherhood among Boys. The Foreign Division maintains a close relationship with the general service departments of the National Council of the United States—Income Production Department, Personnel Division, Architectural Bureau, etc. The occupation of new fields is determined upon in consultation with the World's Committee of the YMCA.

The foreign work of the American YWCA is administered by the Foreign Division of the National Board. The Division has a large general committee and an executive committee made up of chairmen for different areas and units of work. The staff is composed of an executive secretary responsible for general policy and administration, an assistant executive secretary responsible for the work of the Division in the United States, such as education and publicity, a personnel secretary, a foreign correspondent, and a secretary for information service. There is but one area secretary working out from the home office, in the countries of the Pacific. Contact with other parts of the field is maintained through correspondence and occasional visits of Committee or staff representatives. The Foreign Division maintains a close relationship with the general service units of the National Board, such as finance, personnel, and laboratory.

The American YWCA was at the time of the survey sending

secretaries and funds to China, Japan, the Philippine Islands, India, Esthonia, Latvia, Greece, Turkey, Syria, Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Uruguay and Mexico.

The Foreign Division keeps in close contact with the World's Council of the YWCA through correspondence, personal consultation, visits by the American Foreign Committee members and secretaries to the World's Council office in Geneva, and by members of the World's Council and of its staff to the New York office and to centers where American secretaries are working. Requests from Associations abroad for American secretarial and financial assistance are transmitted through the World's Council, and no new field is entered except upon its request.

The work of the Foreign Department of the Canadian YWCA is under the control of the Foreign Committee of the National Council. The executive administration of the department is cared for by a secretary who holds a half-time appointment for this work.

Contact is maintained with the field by correspondence and, since the number of foreign secretaries is small, it is possible to keep closely in touch with them by letter and by personal relationships with the Committee members and staff. Though no official visits have been made, members of the National Council have visited the various fields unofficially from time to time.

The survey plan called for a budget of \$230,000, which the Foundation agreed to make available as needed. An office was opened at 419 Fourth Avenue, New York, and the work of the survey started on April 1, 1929. It was formally terminated on June 30, 1931. The Survey Committee engaged F. Ernest Johnson as director with the title of Chief Consultant. He selected, with the approval of the Committee, the other members of the staff. The full list of appointments with individual assignments is as follows:

Chief Consultant—F. Ernest Johnson, Executive Secretary, Department of Research and Education, Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America

Associate Chief Consultant—Helen E. Davis, formerly of the staff of the New York and Brooklyn YMCA Surveys

Regional Consultants as follows:

Far Eastern Area including China, Japan, Korea and the Philippine Islands

Elsie Voorhees Jones, Associate Professor of Sociology, Ohio State University, Columbus

Ernest M. Best, Professor of Religious Education, United Theological Colleges of McGill University, Montreal

Europe and the Near East including Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Egypt, Esthonia, Greece, Italy, Latvia, Palestine, Poland, Portugal, Roumania, Russian Work (Paris), Syria and Turkey

Mary Noel Arrowsmith, formerly of the National Safety Council
Pierce Williams, of the National Bureau of Economic Research, New York ³

Charles H. Fahs, Director, Missionary Research Library, New York

Latin America including Cuba, Mexico and South America

Margaret K. Strong, Professor of Sociology, University of Louisville

C. E. Silcox, formerly of the Institute of Social and Religious Research, New York

India, Burma and Ceylon

Arthur E. Holt, Professor of Social Ethics, Chicago Theological Seminary

Union of South Africa

George E. Haynes, Executive Secretary, Commission on Race Relations, Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America

Study of the Supporting Constituency

Helen Olive Belknap, formerly of the staff of the Institute of Social and Religious Research, New York

Broadly speaking, these assignments conform to the division of the territory recognized by the Associations for administrative purposes.

It should be noted that there was no intention, explicit or implicit, to divide the responsibilities of the regional consultants on sex lines. Each was expected to participate in the study of each Association wherever represented.

In order to secure expert counsel on questions of organiza-

³ Mr. Williams retired from the staff in October, 1929, and was succeeded by Mr. Fahs.

tion, procedure and methodology, an advisory group was formed consisting of the following persons:

Adelaide T. Case, Associate Professor of Education, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York

Galen M. Fisher, Executive Secretary, Institute of Social and Religious Research, New York

Gordon Hamilton, of the New York School of Social Work

E. C. Lindeman, of the New York School of Social Work

Arthur L. Swift, Jr., Associate Professor of Applied Christianity, Union Theological Seminary, New York

These persons were formally retained as advisers, with the understanding that they were not to bear responsibility for the survey reports and that they were not expected to act as a committee, recording corporate judgments. They met together at various times, but in general their services were rendered individually, chiefly by criticizing documents submitted to them.

In the preparation of the plan account was taken of the theory of the so-called "foreign work"—that it is not in any sense the work of the North American Associations but that of autonomous movements, in the several countries, to which the North American movements contribute money and personnel. The Foreign Divisions have proceeded on the assumption that the goal of their efforts in foreign fields is the establishment of self-supporting, self-directing and self-propagating Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations. They have committed themselves to turning over as rapidly as possible full responsibility for the work to the nationals of the several countries. Hence, it seemed that a survey of the movements abroad should be undertaken only with the full approval and cooperation of the Associations in the several fields. When the present survey was initiated peculiarly acute conditions existed in certain of the countries, particularly in the Far East, making it important that no reflection should be cast upon the integrity and independence of the national Associations. Less acute situations existed in other countries. In view of these facts, the Committee and those who drafted the survey plan decided to adopt an altogether new expedient in conducting surveys of this kind, namely, the formation of national commissions in the several countries which should themselves take responsibility for the survey. It was be-

lieved, furthermore, that such a procedure would justify itself by producing a picture of Association work as seen through the eyes of informed and representative nationals.

Regard for the autonomous character of the national movements also led the Foreign Divisions to seek approval of the survey by each movement before any steps were taken to launch the project in the country in question. The task of securing assent was undertaken solely by the Foreign Divisions, the survey staff participating only on invitation to the extent of interpreting the plan.

In order to insure objectivity, it was stipulated that a majority of the commission members should be persons not officially connected with the Associations. At the same time, in order to insure a sympathetic approach to the problems of the Associations, provision was made for representation both of the governing boards of the Associations and of their employed staffs.

This plan presents quite patently an extraordinary feature, in that a survey originating in America, paid for out of American funds, and for which all the major staff members were chosen from the United States and Canada, was to be conducted on the field under the auspices of national commissions which were empowered to prepare their own reports. The plan involved a certain venture of faith in the possibility of a meeting of minds on all major points between the regional consultants of the survey, the members of the commissions, and the staff workers secured in the field. This arrangement was thought to be justified by two considerations. (1) Wherever the plan worked successfully and it was found possible to pursue a sound fact-gathering procedure with the full cooperation of the national group, a more adequate picture of the situation and a more accurate appraisal of work being done would result than could be obtained solely through investigators sent out from America. (2) Where the plan might fail due to the impossibility of securing the necessary commission personnel or through a lack of full cooperation or for any other reason, the survey would nevertheless yield as much data as would have been secured if the more obvious and more usual method of field investigation were followed. In general, this expectation was justified, although in some instances the regional consultants were obliged to spend

an inordinate amount of time in setting up the survey machinery. It was stipulated that funds could not be expended and staff personnel could not be selected without the approval both of the commissions and of the regional consultants.

An effort was made in each country to secure at least one person as national consultant—the best equipped and best trained person who could be found for the purpose. The national consultant was to be a person who was not officially connected with either Association but who would be sympathetic to the aims of both. He (or she) was to be the associate and technical representative of the regional consultants who, for the most part, were obliged to divide their time and attention among several fields. As a matter of fact it became necessary as the survey proceeded to modify some of these understandings and the plan succeeded much better in some countries than in others. The results, considered from the viewpoint of scientific methodology, will be described in the next section.

The theory on which the survey proceeded was that the work of the Associations should be appraised in the light of the avowed purposes and aims both of the Associations in the various countries and of the Foreign Divisions, and in accord with such standards as prevail in the countries and communities served. Also, as a result of the survey process a critique and evaluation of the fundamental assumptions and purposes was to be made.

Even so, the survey had manifestly two sets of aims. First, the North American Associations were under the necessity of discovering what the net result had been of their investment in money and personnel in Association work abroad. Since they must give a report of their stewardship to the constituency, they felt that they were justified in seeking an appraisal on the field of the work which they had been helping to carry on. On the other hand, the national Associations had a stake in the enterprise and were understood to desire as much light as possible on questions of policy which they themselves had to decide. Even the practical questions which the North American Associations were asking could not be answered by any fragmentary survey. The secretaries from North America, commonly referred to as "foreign secretaries," could not be isolated for study since they are,

in general, members of working staffs most of whom are nationals. Their work is bound up with that of the Associations of which they are a part. The survey undertook, therefore, to study the Association work in the various countries, but to make a particularly careful appraisal of the contribution that was being made by the foreign secretaries who represent the North American movements.

The selection of the American staff was completed in July, 1929, and it was assembled in Geneva on August 9 for training conferences. Several considerations entered into the selection of that city as a place for these preliminary conferences. At the outset, Geneva had been seriously considered as the headquarters of the survey because of the presence there of the World's Committees of the two Associations⁴ and the European area office of the Foreign Division of the North American YMCA; also because of the resources represented by the League of Nations and the International Labour Office. This proved to be impracticable. When it was decided to make New York the headquarters, however, it still remained desirable that all the members of the staff should have the benefit of the Geneva contacts for as long a period as was consistent with the time available for the study. One of the chief objectives of the staff, both in the setting-up stage of the survey and during the entire course of it, was to establish and maintain close contacts with the World's Committees. The participation, unofficially, of members of their staffs has been one of the most significant features of the entire process.

Another consideration facilitating the holding of the initial conference in Geneva was the fact that the chief consultant had found it desirable to visit Europe in July in order to interpret the survey to certain of the European secretaries whose Associations had not yet fully determined their attitude toward it. There was also the advantage of having the survey staff meet secretaries of both Associations from various European countries, many of whom were already assembled in Geneva and others of whom were brought in for the purpose.

⁴ The office of the World's Committee of the YWCA was moved from London to Geneva early in 1930. The title was changed to "World's Council" in June of the same year. For convenience, when both world organizations are referred to in this report, the term "World's Committees" is used.

The staff conferences began with an all-day session attended by various European secretaries, the executive secretary of the Foreign Division of the American YMCA, members of the staffs of the two World's Committees, and members of the survey staff. At this session the plan of the survey was outlined, suggestions were offered by members of the conference and many questions were asked and answered with reference to the plan and procedure.

Following this session the staff met twice daily for a period of two weeks for discussion of the survey plan, formulation of details of administration and consideration of survey problems likely to arise in different fields. An effort was made to anticipate emergencies and to insure that each member of the staff should be able to deal with them as they arose, since obviously there would be little opportunity for close supervision from headquarters. Frequent progress reports were asked for from every member of the staff.

Following the conferences at Geneva the members of the staff departed for their several fields. Roughly, the period from September, 1929, to June, 1930, was spent in field work. In India, climatic conditions made it desirable to terminate the work in May, which was made possible by very intensive labor. The European area presented such a complicated problem and included so many Associations that a second trip was made to the field by Miss Arrowsmith in September, 1930, in order to complete the work.

The chief consultant, who, during the survey, continued his supervision of the Department of Research and Education of the Federal Council of Churches, devoted the period from February 10, 1930, to May 28, 1930, to travel and visitation of the field. He was able to spend a brief time in China, Japan, Korea, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Turkey, Greece and Italy, and to inspect the Russian Work in Paris. He also visited YMCAs of the older type, in Zürich, Göttingen and Hanover, and spent a few days in Geneva. The purpose of this trip was to see typical forms of Association work, to meet national leaders and to confer with the regional consultants on the field.

The staff reassembled in New York in August, 1930, and informal conferences were held at survey headquarters for the

purpose of comparing results and interpreting the reports that had been coming in from the national commissions. As rapidly as possible the regional consultants completed their reports and were released from the staff with the understanding that they should be available for conference on survey findings in the fall, when representatives of the Associations would sit with the staff to discuss the major problems revealed by the survey process and the conclusions of the study.

When the materials were assembled there were formal reports prepared by national commissions from the following countries:

Argentina	YMCA and YWCA
Brazil	YMCA and YWCA
Bulgaria	YMCA
China	YWCA
Czechoslovakia	YMCA
Egypt	YMCA
Estonia	YMCA and YWCA
Greece	YMCA and YWCA
India	YMCA and YWCA
Japan	YMCA and YWCA
Korea	YMCA and YWCA
Latvia	YMCA
Mexico	YMCA and YWCA
Philippine Islands	YMCA and YWCA
Poland	YMCA
Roumania	YMCA
Turkey	YMCA and YWCA
Uruguay	YMCA and YWCA

The India report has a somewhat different status from the others in that, because of the prevailing conception there as to the functions of an investigating "commission," the members of the India commission preferred to regard the report as distinctly a staff document, submitted to and received by them, but not offered on their own responsibility. The commission signed only a set of findings which are included in the India report.

The reports on the following countries were prepared by the regional consultants:

Chile	YMCA and YWCA
Italy	YMCA

Latvia	YWCA
Palestine	YMCA
Peru	YMCA
Portugal	YMCA
South Africa	YMCA
Syria	YWCA

An extensive report was prepared on the China YMCA by a committee of the China staff with the aid of outside advisers. For many reasons, some of which will appear in Chapter IX, the China YMCA was not prepared to participate fully in the survey plan and did not join the YWCA in creating a survey commission. The substantial equivalent of a survey was made, however, which was officially called a "special study," and which, although seriously hampered by a very late start, produced a comprehensive and illuminating report characterized by a considerable degree of objectivity.

An elaborate report was prepared on the Russian work in Paris, carried on with the cooperation of the Foreign Division of the YMCA, by a representative of the Russian Student Christian Movement, assisted by a member of the American YMCA staff connected with the Paris work. The report, although colored by the interest and preoccupation of the leaders of the movement, is a very adequate account of the work.

The fact that survey commissions did not materialize in several of the countries must not be taken as an indication of lack of a cooperative attitude. Aside from the situation in China, already referred to, no impediment was encountered in any country which did not arise out of limitations inherent in the situation and independent of the attitude of the leaders, secretarial and lay. In some cases the smallness of the movement made the creation of a national commission impracticable. In others the absence of the general secretary during a part of the time covered by the study made such a formal study unwise. On principle, the willingness of the movement to be surveyed was made a condition of introducing the survey, and in no case was cooperation withheld.

It was obviously necessary that the survey should record the independent observations of the regional consultants and their critiques of the reports submitted. This end has been realized

by means of introductory statements or commentaries included in the national reports as presented to the International Survey Committee. In the case of Latin America it was found preferable to submit an area report covering the observations of the regional consultants.

After the national reports were assembled and before the writing of the present general report was begun, a series of informal conferences was held in New York, attended by representatives of the Foreign Divisions, two members of each of the World's Committee staffs and members of the survey staff. The general secretaries of both World's Committees came to America for this purpose, on invitation of the survey.

In the meantime, a study of the supporting constituency was begun, as required by the terms of reference. This consisted of an analysis of the finances of the Foreign Divisions and of interviews with income production secretaries, local secretaries and donors, supplemented by information schedules and correspondence.

The procedure in preparing the present report has been to submit the chapters as drafted to the members of the International Survey Committee, the executives of the Foreign Divisions, the members of the advisory group and members of the survey staff. Criticisms received from these persons have been taken account of in preparing the final draft. While it is believed that the report represents, in general, a consensus of staff opinion, the actual writing was done by the chief consultants, who bear final responsibility for the form and content of the report.

The budget of \$230,000 included a margin for contingencies of ten per cent on the estimates. As the report goes to press the accounts show an expenditure of approximately \$227,000 under this budget. In general, the field estimates were found to be adequate. The contingent fund was drawn upon chiefly for headquarters expense because of the inadequacy of the original time schedule.

The survey was exceedingly fortunate in securing the voluntary services of Mr. William M. Kingsley as treasurer, and the financial affairs of the Committee have been handled with accuracy, despatch and unfailing considerateness.

The reader's attention is called especially to the structure of the report. Two possibilities presented themselves in this connection. One was the conventional form of organization of data under the standard subject-matter divisions recognized in the administration of the Associations. The other was a functional approach based upon the purposes, problems and conditioning environmental factors of the Associations viewed in their totality. In this report a combination of both methods has been used. In order that the Association leaders may have in concise form the data under each familiar subject-matter division, based on administrative organization, Part I of the report is devoted to this type of data analysis. Part II, on the other hand, takes exclusively a functional view of the Associations, considering their nature and purpose, the factors promoting and impeding their growth, and their chief problems as world movements. In other words, Part II attempts to enable the student of the Associations to see them whole, to sense their "genius," to understand their problems, their successes and failures. Nevertheless, the two parts are vitally related. The data upon which Part II rests are presented in Part I, and the picture of the Associations presented in Part II is implicit in Part I.

Chapter VI, concluding Part I, is included in the volume because it seemed desirable that this general report, which is probably the only part of the survey results that will be published, should contain a brief summary of the reports, some of them voluminous, on the several countries. It will be understood, of course, that the conclusions presented at the end of the report, in so far as they refer to particular countries, are based not on these brief summaries in Chapter VI but on the original reports on these countries which the survey staff has submitted to the International Survey Committee and on a mass of other data gathered by the North American survey staff.

The reader will probably find the report more intelligible throughout if he bears in mind the following major issues which emerged in the course of the survey and which will receive chief stress in the conclusions and recommendations:

Is the work which each of the North American Christian Associations is helping to carry on in foreign countries a unified undertaking, representing a world movement, or are the several

national movements lacking in common purpose and essential unity? If there is a unifying principle, what is it? Are the men's and the women's Associations fundamentally alike or in contrast, and if there are very important differences what are they?

Is membership in the movements studied a vital experience and is the "basis" in a given country in line with the nature of the real constituency and the program?

Have the Associations adequate leadership and are sound policies of recruiting and training being followed? Is suitable provision made for maintenance?

Are the relations between national and foreign secretaries wholesome and constructive? What types of foreign secretary are needed and what sort of training do they require?

Is the program of a given movement consistent with its environment and with the character of the movement itself, and is it being effectively prosecuted?

Are the movements studied taking root in the several countries—becoming "indigenous"? What are the obstacles that tend to impede this process and what are the requirements of success?

Are the policies of the North American Associations with reference to furnishing funds and personnel conducive to the attainment of self-support and to the development of strong leadership in the several countries?

Is there anything inherent in the institutional aspects and the character ideals of movements which had their inception in the West which does violence to the cultures of Eastern peoples? Are the Association movements fostering consciously or unconsciously economic penetration from the West or proselytizing for Christianity?

Out of these general issues specific questions arise, the nature of which, however, will be readily grasped if the major questions are kept in mind.

B—EVALUATION OF SURVEY METHODOLOGY

In addition to the account of the survey process given in the last section, the staff has thought it desirable to record a judgment upon the methods and procedures followed in the light of results obtained. It would seem that so extensive a project would not be complete without an evaluation of its methodology by

those who have tested it, both for the sake of persons who may wish to study the report closely and for the guidance of research workers who may wish to consider the availability of such methods for other projects.

The first question, of course, that will arise in the minds of research workers relates to the validity of the salient feature of the plan, namely, the creation of national commissions having authority in the preparation of the reports. It was anticipated that the plan would not work uniformly well, and this proved to be the case. The chief difficulties, however, were not foreseen. It was assumed that there would be available in the several countries many persons adequately equipped for commission service on a voluntary basis. It was too large an assumption. Some excellent service was rendered by commission members, but to find persons of representative quality and of essential competence who were sufficiently familiar with the character and work of the Christian Associations to appraise them, who had the leisure requisite to the task, and who were in position to take an independently critical position, was not easy. The tendency encountered generally among the nationals, but especially in the Far East, was to defer excessively to the Association staffs, and to allow their decisions and judgments to go unchallenged. This tendency was accentuated by another difficulty that was not anticipated, namely, the scarcity of persons qualified to serve as national consultants. The latter were counted on to bring a typically national and objectively critical point of view into the survey process and to formulate, with the aid of the commissions, valid judgments. Here again, in certain of the most important fields of study, the survey was handicapped by lack of strong, competent consultants of independent mind and in position to be critical. These difficulties were in themselves revealing. They brought into sharp relief the relatively undeveloped state, scientifically and intellectually, of some of the communities that the Christian Associations abroad are seeking to serve, and the limited knowledge of the Associations on the part of such national and community leaders as had unquestioned competence for survey work. If the Associations have shown a tendency toward complacency in the matter of methods and objectives, it is no doubt due largely to the fact that there are so few persons of

ability and standing in their various communities who have come close enough to the Associations to view them critically. There are, however, exceptions to this rule and the survey secured some excellent service from national consultants.

The commission plan was fraught, manifestly, with difficulties which in some instances crippled it. On the other hand, it worked very well in countries where the resources in personnel were relatively large and where there was a serious disposition to cooperate with the survey on the part of the national movements and a willingness to avoid efforts at control. On the whole, the commission plan seems to have justified itself. Aside from furnishing resources in data gathering, the commissions served as a means of initiating self-study on the part of the movements, of analyzing problems which had been but dimly apprehended, and of bringing to open recognition critical opinions which had never become articulate. Some of the findings of the survey could never have had the weight if enunciated on the authority of American surveyors alone which they have acquired from the fact that they are subscribed to by influential nationals.

Undoubtedly, the commission plan consumed time in mere survey mechanics that might otherwise have been available for more essential survey processes. For this reason, any attempt to use such machinery should be accompanied by a special provision in the time budget. The selection of a group of people to serve as commissioners, the interpretation to them of the philosophy and plan of the project, the initiating of conference processes among people unused to them—all these require time that a simple staff survey does not demand for its initiation. But the experience gained from the International Survey indicates that such time is well spent and yields returns in domesticating the project, in interesting the community, in gaining moral support for the inquiry, in initiating processes of self-criticism in the movement concerned, and in authenticating the findings of the survey itself.

What has been said above about time requirements leads to a related remark about what is involved in interpreting the project to the movements themselves before the staff reaches the field. In the present survey, earnest efforts were made to explain to the national executives what it was all about, yet in many

countries the project was only partially comprehended and in some, completely misapprehended, so that the interpretation had to be made over again on the field. It is not safe to assume that a mere exchange of letters issuing in a cordial invitation to "come and survey us" means that the field is ready for the harrowing. In a few instances, moreover, the invitation was not so cordial and the local approval of the survey was largely a matter of form. In such a case the advance cultivation of the field is important if a waste of time after the staff arrives is to be avoided.

It should not be inferred that the national executives were inordinately slow in grasping the meaning of the survey or in understanding its salient features. The point is that such an elaborate plan requires more time for assimilation on the part of all persons concerned, including the staff, than those who originated it are likely to foresee. The seriousness of this discovery in the present instance arose out of the fact that the national movements were counted on to do the preliminary spade work, preparing the minds of staff and lay leaders and canvassing personnel for the commissions, before the regional consultants arrived. All this they were in many cases not in position to do. The inherent difficulties, moreover, were accentuated by the administrative burdens and preoccupations of the national executives, who, as the report shows, tend to be overworked.

It may be well to note here that an alternative plan of survey was seriously considered by those who drew up the one adopted by the International Survey Committee, namely, the sending out of an itinerant staff composed of, perhaps, a sociologist, an economist, an educator, a religious leader and a survey technician, to survey the various countries successively. The rejection of this plan seems now to have been wise. It would have produced an "outsider" survey, crowded into a very brief time in each country, and would have left no aftermath of educational process. The plan adopted was, in effect, a self-study and at the same time a "participant observer" study. If the staff were required to organize a similar project they would adhere to the major features of the plan, save that an exception might be made in the case of India, for the reason already noted.

An outstanding feature of the survey and one of the utmost significance for the findings was the discovery of competent, dis-

interested persons on the staffs of both Associations who could participate actively in the process and could be trusted to take an objective view of the Associations' work and to avoid coloring the results for organization reasons. The resources of the Associations in both the foreign and the national staffs for disinterested self-criticism were among the most gratifying discoveries made. Had this not been true the scarcity of competent and available outsiders for staff work and commission service would have frustrated the purposes of the survey. The concern of the International Survey Committee and of the chief consultant that the representatives of the Associations on the commissions be limited and that persons with Association experience should not be chosen to work on national survey staffs proved to be remote from the realities of the situation. In a number of countries, where outsiders who could qualify were not available for staff positions, outstanding work was done by members of the Association staffs released for the purpose.

The limited resources of the countries and communities studied with respect to personnel for the survey led to one disappointment the seriousness of which can only be guessed. It was the intention of the chief consultant and was contemplated in the plan that competent persons should be secured outside Association ranks for evaluation of specific programs. Here, the staff encountered a situation which was not fully anticipated. There were few persons available who had the competence to make such evaluation who were not themselves products of Association training or in some way related to Association work. This was particularly true in the matter of physical education. It is the opinion of the chief consultant, however, that had the time of the regional consultants not been so limited more persons might have been secured for this service. It may be appropriate to add that the scheme of program evaluation favored by the chief consultant involved observation of the feature in question by three persons working together—the Association staff person responsible for the program, a representative of the survey staff and an outside person having expert knowledge of the subject. This plan was designed to avoid so great a measure of detachment in the evaluation process that it would be out of line with organization realities and out of the survey perspective. During

the present survey, however, it had no adequate test. On the other hand, the members of the staff regard the general evaluation of program in the report, based on observation by themselves and by members of the national survey staffs and on opinions and other evidence as to the effectiveness of the program, as in general trustworthy.

The technical apparatus used by the survey staff was very simple and very limited. Many "paper and pencil" tests were considered for measuring attitudes, judging social distance, and the like, but all such devices were rejected as impracticable on account of language difficulty, the time that would be required, and, more important still, the probable impossibility of securing by such means sufficient data to give statistically significant results. It was decided that the chief dependence must be upon older and less accurate techniques—interview, inspection and critical participation in the processes studied. The event proved the correctness of this decision. The interview method, including the group interview, yielded especially good results.

The most important single technique was the personnel interview, which had been roughly standardized. It was early recognized that an appraisal of leadership personnel was central to the whole survey process. Conferences were useful in analyzing problems, and they had the double value of contributing to research ends and of initiating the educational process which was one of the most hoped for results.

The outstanding problem of method, realized from the beginning, was that of securing comparability in data gathered under such different circumstances and under conditions that made administrative coordination practically impossible. However, a large degree of comparability was attained by standardizing data requirements. Standard schedules were not prepared at Geneva, but each regional consultant had a clear understanding of the standard requirements. It would probably have been better if a complete set of schedules had been prepared, since it is likely that they would have been willingly accepted by the nationals in most instances. More important, however, as a factor in comparability, was the fact that the basic issues and problems of the Associations the world over proved to be the same and the national surveys easily fell into a general scheme.

It will be apparent from this characterization of the survey process that chief dependence, in so far as the work of the regional staff is concerned, was upon their insight, their ability to reach the heart of a problem situation and to stimulate a fruitful process of self-examination on the part of the movements surveyed and of the Association secretaries on the field. In this the members of the staff accomplished something significant and justified the confidence placed in them. The evidence of this accomplishment is found in the comparative unanimity of essential judgments, in recognition given by the most discerning members of the Association staffs to the validity of the principal conclusions formed and in the processes of analysis and readjustment that have been initiated among those responsible for the policy of the Associations.

In this connection, the use of the conference method in evaluating and checking findings should be mentioned as one of the most significant elements in the entire procedure. In these conferences, the representatives of the movements, including the executives and members of the staffs of the World's Committees, participated as freely as members of the survey staff. Their suggestions and criticisms were sought for three reasons:

(1) In order to secure a check on the findings themselves. Even the most careful work of the ablest investigator needs such scrutiny on the part of persons who have a more intimate knowledge of the situation studied than the investigator can possibly have.

(2) In order to give ample opportunity for criticism even in matters where the final judgment will run counter to the views so presented. In no other way can full confidence in the fairness of the process be secured.

(3) In order to initiate processes of analysis and readjustment on the part of those who alone can render the survey effective. This process of consultation takes much time and patience, but it is abundantly worth while. Members of the Survey Committee and of the advisory group also contributed constructively to these conferences.

The use of the advisory group was limited by the fact, which early appeared, that it is difficult to present to persons detached from the survey process, however expert they may be, the issues

confronting the staff with all the elements necessary for a solution, so that they can render judgments which they themselves, if in possession of all the details, would consider valid. In general, the administrative problems of the survey could not be shared. The chief value of the advisory group was realized in the criticism of reports. It would probably have been just as well had they been retained for this specific service, which was invaluable, and not troubled at all with questions of procedure.

One experience which the staff probably has had in common with others engaged in such projects should be recorded as a warning to the uninitiated. The mass of administrative detail involved in transmitting funds, checking expense accounts, advising (usually by cable) with reference to difficulties arising on the field, and similar matters, ran away beyond anticipations. The mere task of keeping in touch with staff members on the other side of the world and supporting morale under stress was not inconsiderable. The experience of headquarters warrants the suggestion that the importance of system in the keeping of expense accounts and in calculating foreign exchange, and of regularity in submitting field reports cannot be stressed too much in preparing a staff for the field. Difficulties tend to arise over what would seem to be the simplest matters.

In general, then, were the staff to face a similar task in the light of acquired experience, the major features of the plan would doubtless be retained, under the same circumstances, although important modifications would be made at the points indicated in this brief review.

PART ONE

CHAPTER I

THE WORLD MOVEMENT OF THE CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATIONS

THE first part of the nineteenth century in Europe witnessed a reaction from the rationalistic indifference to religion generally characteristic of the preceding century. This spiritual mood was the main source from which sprang what may be called the Association movement—a term here taken to designate both the Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations, as well as similar organizations after the same pattern. Although the movement appeared independently and to a large extent simultaneously in many countries, three main streams are readily discernible which, eventually uniting in a mighty current, nevertheless had their fountainheads in a variety of spiritual needs and psychological problems.

THE BEGINNINGS (1768-1855)

The beginnings of what might be called Association activity appeared in Germany and Switzerland. By and large, the regeneration manifested itself as a deepening of religious life within the church and resulted, in Lutheran countries, in the so-called "Inner Mission"; while in Switzerland, more especially Geneva, there took place an "awakening" of the Protestant churches. A dominating influence of the time which penetrated both these movements, as it did many others of a similar sort, emanated from the Moravian Brethren. This influence consisted in an emphasis on individual religious experience (usually pietistic and mystical in quality), on personal moral integrity, on the all-sufficient authority of the Scriptures, and on the uniting of all Christendom on the basis of these principles. The Moravians were also strong in their insistence on rescuing the "unconverted," and were among the first Protestants both to proclaim

conversion of the heathen to be a duty of the church as such, and to appear in the mission field (1732). Directly from the "Inner Mission" and the Geneva "awakening" sprang the first efforts to reach young people for their spiritual improvement otherwise than through the regular activities of the church itself. Consequently it is not strange to find, as M. August Senaud of the World's YMCA points out in his thesis before the Faculty of Evangelical Theology in Geneva, that the thinking of the first leaders of the YMCA should have been shaped by Moravian ideas.

The "Inner Mission" first appeared in Germany, the land of the Reformation and the heart of European Protestantism. At the time under consideration, the churches of Europe were, for the most part, not only united with but practically in subjection to their respective governments. The new movement was in essence an extension of church life beyond the confines of governmental control and was primarily in the hands of church leaders. Describing the "Inner Mission" in 1851, a German pastor pointed out the practical nature of its activities—Bible societies, city missions, Sunday schools, Christian lodging houses, work among neglected children, criminals, seamen, the poor, the unemployed and the helpless—and then added:

It is a work independent in its government of the State Church, and supported by voluntary contribution. Among the agencies which were founded during this first period of Inner Mission work was the German YMCA which sought to hold apprentices after confirmation in continued loyalty to the Church.¹

The oldest recordings of what was to become Association work come from German Switzerland. Pastor Mayennock of Basel called young men together for Bible study and spiritual fellowship as far back as 1768 and continued this work until 1820; five years later the work was revived along the same lines and eventually became the YMCA of the Canton of Basel. In Germany similar work was started in Elberfeld (1820), Schaffhausen (1829), Bremen (1834) and other cities of this general region.

¹ Doggett, L. L. *A History of the YMCA*, pp. 148-9.

The first of these, especially, was to become a source of inspiration for work in its surroundings. All these Associations were started by pastors and the German movement has always, and characteristically, been guided and managed by church leaders and theologians. Writing in 1894 of the early beginnings in Germany, Pastor Krummacher of Elberfeld characterized them as "simply a continuation of evangelistic work among the catechumens, or a kind of Bible-class, established by the pastors of the various churches, to retain and interest their young people."²

For some time the work of these German pastors remained an individual and, comparatively, an isolated affair. The first gatherings in French Switzerland, which gave rise to the second main stream of the movement, occurred considerably later. Although temporary groups were started in Geneva, Lausanne and Ponts de Martel in the eighteen-thirties, the movement acquired no sort of permanence until about 1846. In that year several independent gatherings of young men were taking place in Geneva; three are recorded for 1847, while by 1850-1851 four more were heard from. At first these groups did not so much as know of each other's existence, but, largely through the enterprise of one Henri Dunant, they soon were not only bound together in an organic unit, but also established contact with similar organizations in France and French Switzerland.

The Geneva movement was like the German gatherings in that it represented a religious activity supplementary to that of the organized church; it differed radically, however, in two (as it proved) important respects: its spontaneity and its lay leadership. Whereas the German pastors had taken the initiative and appear to have been the spiritual mainstay of their meetings, in Geneva the initiative came from a group of restless young men—mostly theological students and of good family—who felt the urge to get together and enrich each other's religious life. Writing in 1862, one of the Genevese leaders, M. Max Perrot, described the predicament of a young man in his city before 1850 as follows:

² Krummacher, Karl, *Fifty Years' Work among Young Men in all Lands*, p. 52.

Child of the Awakening, he had grown up in the midst of an intensely religious life. He had lived in the society of austere men whose lives were wholly consecrated to the salvation of souls,—he had experienced with them the dedication to Christ, but something was missing. In the College halls, in the workshops, in the offices, everywhere he felt himself alone; unquestionably he valued the society of his elders, but young men need young men.³

Another historian who had lived through the experience adds:

The great religious disputes born of the Awakening had created profound antagonism between the national Church and the independent Churches. But the young generation was tired of these divisions.⁴

These serious and ardent young men, accordingly, were not interested in theological controversy or ecclesiastical differences, but were profoundly concerned about religious experience. They assembled for prayer meetings and Bible study in order to minister to their spiritual needs after a fashion developed by themselves.

The third stream that was to flow into, and soon largely to direct, the general current originated in the British Isles. With it new elements were introduced that were to prove of the utmost importance. As was the case on the Continent, the generating power is to be looked for first in the renewed vitality of the churches—in this instance of the Non-Conformist persuasions. With even greater vigor than the German "Inner Mission", and without its accompanying pietistic mysticism, these English churches bent their energies to the problems of everyday life. As John Tulloch says, in his *Religious Thought in Britain in the XIX Century*,

Evangelicalism was in short the only type of aggressive religion then [1820-1830] or for some time prevailing, although its aggressiveness was more of a practical than an intellectual kind.⁵

³ Quoted by Theodor Geisendorf: *Soixante Ans de Souvenirs*, p. 11.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 25.

⁵ Quoted by Doggett: *History of the YMCA*, p. 18.

The attempt to apply Christian standards to daily problems, common to all, opened the way for cooperation between denominations. This tendency was soon reinforced by common opposition to the so-called Oxford Movement—also known as Puseyism or Tractarianism—which came to a head in 1833. This latter was still another manifestation of the general spiritual rebirth and represented essentially a harking back to the early, undivided Roman Catholic Church, with an emphasis on ritualistic mysticism. It is interesting to note the craving for religious unity that influenced so many spiritual trends of the day. By 1845 the feeling of the evangelicals had reached such a pitch that their representatives, assembled from all over the United Kingdom, could meet in Liverpool to plan a gathering for the following year in London, in order (to use their own words) “to associate and concentrate the strength of an enlightened Protestantism against the encroachments of Popery and Puseyism, and to promote the interests of Scriptural Christianity.”⁶ Their London meeting resulted in the Evangelical Alliance, an organization destined to contribute to Protestant church unity more powerfully than any other agency, during the subsequent three decades or so. It was, moreover, an organization of international scope, which developed in a free give-and-take relationship with the Association movements already described.

At that time, the various evangelical churches of England were increasingly coming to express their spiritual vigor by attacking social problems on an interdenominational basis. Their work, moreover, was enlisting the services of ever larger groups of laymen. Of this spirit was born the London YMCA. There was, however, another factor in the situation, the far-reaching consequences of which could hardly be over-estimated. This was the Industrial Revolution, which already had tremendously increased urban population and occasioned much misery—physical, mental, moral and social. This is a point that is stressed by L. L. Doggett in his authoritative *History of the YMCA*. By much the same psychological process as that by which labor came to unite in order to withstand the remorseless trend of

⁶ Quoted by G. J. Slosser: *Christian Unity*, p. 175.

economic forces, man's spiritual nature arose in protest against the inhuman social and moral conditions. England was the first to feel the impact of the Industrial Revolution, and it was in England more than anywhere else that social agencies—among them the early settlements—sprang into being to cope with the problems to which it gave rise. Many of these agencies, as above indicated, were founded by evangelicals. Thus, at a time when the spirit of service was at full tide, there arose on all sides fearful needs to challenge and tax its zeal to the utmost. Among such agencies, and one of the first, was the Young Men's Christian Association (the first to bear this name), founded by one George Williams of London, in 1844.

The work in London strongly resembles that in Geneva in that it was the spontaneous attempt of young men to help themselves. As will have been surmised from the above account, however, the needs clamoring for attention in London were of a rather different nature. While Henri Dunant and his friends were representatives of the well-to-do classes eager for specifically religious fellowship, George Williams and his associates were simple country boys engaged in the business life of the most teeming metropolis of the world, and miserably unhappy over the spiritual degradation of their surroundings. As their first annual report declared:

Until recently the young men engaged in pursuits of business were totally neglected. They were treated as though deprived of mind, as though formed only to labor and sleep, and to sleep and labor, so that they could only go from their beds to the counter, and from the counter to their beds, without a moment for mental or spiritual culture, without the disposition or even the strength for the performance of those devotional exercises which are necessary for the maintenance of a spiritual life.⁷

The difference is further emphasized by the methodology evolved. Within a year of its organization, the London Association took active steps to care for the mental and social needs of the membership. According to the report already quoted, "we

⁷ Page 12 of the report.

should deem it no unimportant result if in any instance we can lead to the library of useful knowledge, rather than to cards and billiards, to the cigar divan, concert room, theatre or the seductive retreat." The annual report for 1852 states:

None can really know the isolation and discomfort of young men's lodgings without perceiving that they are necessarily exposed to terrible temptation.

Many similar quotations could be supplied to elucidate further the London problem. The facilities provided by the Association in that city were not needed in Geneva, of course, where the members had all the cultural advantages of their own homes at their disposal. Both groups were actuated by religious idealism, and both recognized the importance of some outlet in missionary endeavor.⁸ But whereas in Geneva the primary hunger was for spiritual fellowship, the dominant concern in London was with the moral redemption of young men.

Dating, roughly, from the middle of the century, the development and spread of the movement have been phenomenal. The barest acquaintance with existing Associations sufficed to start new ones on every hand, while groups already organized along similar lines frequently changed their names and joined the throng. This was particularly true in Anglo-Saxon countries, where the Industrial Revolution had its most telling effect. To quote Doggett once more:

The same awful need prevailed and with it too, in nearly every city, a small group of young men were found who were loyal to Jesus Christ. It was only necessary for a knowledge of the London movement to spread for it to take root and become a national endeavor.⁹

Thus in 1846 work was started in Manchester, Liverpool, Taunton, Exeter and Leeds. The next year added Hull, Oxford, Derby, and Bath to the number, while Sheffield, Bristol and

⁸ Cf. *Histoire des Unions Chrétiennes de Jeunes Gens de la Suisse Romande, 1852-1902*, p. 2: "They recognized from the outset the duty incumbent on every Christian, young or old, to work for the salvation of others by bearing witness to the work of Christ."

⁹ *History*, p. 77.

Reading followed suit in 1848. During this same year, the work in behalf of young men which was started in Scotland by David Nasmyth, in 1824, and which had undergone several modifications since its origin, assumed the name and purpose of the Young Men's Christian Association. By 1851, Association activity was being conducted at eight points in London and at sixteen "provincial branches" in England, Scotland and Ireland.

The YMCA "idea," as it is often called, was carried across the Atlantic by visitors to the Crystal Palace Exposition in 1851, who saw the work in London. Associations started all but simultaneously in Montreal and Boston, that same year. In 1852, work was established in Worcester, Springfield (Mass.), New York, Washington, New London, Detroit, Concord and New Orleans. By the close of the next year there were twenty-seven Associations in the United States and Canada, including such widely separated locations as Baltimore, Chicago, San Francisco, Louisville, Brooklyn and Portland, (Me.).

Although in not quite so startlingly rapid a manner, or on so large a scale, the work was likewise multiplying on the continent of Europe. Moreover, individual groups were becoming acquainted with one another and reaching out toward a wider fellowship. The political, social and religious upheavals of 1848 stimulated existing Associations to an intensive development and called forth new enterprise in various quarters. The German groups in the valleys of the Rhine and the Wupper, which derived their chief inspiration from Elberfeld, came together during this year in the first recorded regional confederation—the Rhenish-Westphalian Union. The same year saw Associations formed in Holland, after the German model, which by 1853 had formed the first national union in the Association world. Henri Dunant, who did so much to make the various groups in France and French Switzerland mutually acquainted, also succeeded in reviving and encouraging the little circles in Piedmont and northern Italy (timidly formed two decades before), until they all joined forces, likewise in 1853, in a general association of the Vaud region. The London leaders also did much traveling at this time, largely in connection with business, stimulated new work

and became acquainted with kindred movements. Across the Atlantic the same thing was true and, primarily through the instrumentality of Chauncey Langdon of the Washington Association, the YMCAs of the United States and Canada formed the North American Confederation, in 1854. Mr. Langdon also traveled in Europe during the 'fifties and became acquainted especially with the work in London and Geneva. With that marvelous spontaneity so characteristic of the movement at this time, the idea of a world alliance seems to have occurred simultaneously to Langdon, Dunant and Edwyn Shipton of London. Consequently, it was easy to seize upon the opportunity for a world conference afforded by the Paris Industrial Exhibition of 1855, and at that meeting the World Alliance of the Young Men's Christian Associations was born. Representatives from various parts of Germany, German and French Switzerland, France, Holland, Belgium, Italy, the British Isles, Canada and the United States were party to the action taken. A general meeting of the Evangelical Alliance was also held at the same time and place (a circumstance often intentionally repeated in the ensuing years), so that many delegates to the one could attend gatherings of the other.

EXPANSION AND CONSOLIDATION (1855-1894)

Attention has already been called to the striking spontaneity with which the Young Men's Christian Association originated and grew. Indeed, this may be called the most outstanding characteristic of the development. There has been throughout little systematic progress, and in no sense simple growth from a parent stock. The process may rather be described as the simultaneous coming into being, in widely separated areas, of independent but essentially similar movements that decided to throw in their lots together. This has, furthermore, been consistently true of the groups that joined the main body long after the beginnings, and the movement is in no very marked way different at the present time. The federations, whether by small regional groupings, by states, by countries or world-wide, are conceived to be advisory rather than legislative in nature, and the method by which direction has been given, throughout the entire enterprise

(even to constitutionally subordinate branches or departments), is overwhelmingly that of personal persuasion rather than of vested authority. That this is no fortuitous, external circumstance, but rather is grounded in the very genius of the movement, is attested by the vigor with which any tendency towards a firmer consolidation has been instinctively resisted. Association thinking, both in organizational matters and in problems of policy, has been dominated by the concept of autonomous units engaged in a common enterprise, but each acting for itself. As a result, there has been a notable absence of any consistently propounded philosophy back of the work, and an extreme adaptability—if not fluidity—of program. These general considerations suggest both that there has been an exceedingly wide-spread and consciously felt need for such organizations, and also that the movement has, to a large extent, been carried and directed by forces deeper than it has fully recognized and considerably stronger than its powers of control.

A second striking thing about the organizations that joined forces in 1855, is the extreme youth of most of their leaders and members. The German Associations, which included older as well as young men (*Männer- and Jünglingsvereine*) in the membership, and which were led by mature men, were exceptions to the general rule and recognized as such. The historian of the work in French Switzerland says that its members were "young men in the real sense of the word, and this in itself differentiates them from their comrades in German Switzerland."¹⁰ Similarly, in an address before the Evangelical Alliance, in 1855, a Genevese member explained: "In Germany, the work is less spontaneous than elsewhere. The first impulse did not come from young men. . . ." ¹¹ Henri Dunant and his associates, on the other hand, were largely university students when they first began to assemble; George Williams was twenty-three in 1844, and none of his friends was over twenty-five; Chauncey Langdon was twenty-four at the time of the Paris convention, and twenty-eight when he ended his active career in the YMCA.

¹⁰ *Histoire*, p. 39.

¹¹ First World Conference Report, p. 16.

It was, moreover, overwhelmingly a democratic self-help movement that these young men originated. This aspect of Association development is closely bound up with the concept of individual autonomy already stressed, and is emphasized by YMCA historians. Writing of the London work, Doggett remarks:

A study of the short-lived earlier movements to benefit young men, which have been many, shows that whatever their weakness of organization as contrasted with the YMCA, they were not the spontaneous rising of young men to help each other.¹²

The Swiss historian says: "The French Swiss Associations have preserved the fundamentally democratic and lay character of their origins." ¹³ Geisendorf of Geneva mentions as the salient features of his movement its "great spontaneity and above all its extreme laicism. This was, indeed, its principal characteristic." ¹⁴ The preceding account will have made clear the applicability of this contention to the majority of the Associations. It should not be forgotten, however, that not only did the movement in Lutheran countries follow a different pattern, but its right to do so has never been contested.

The very real differences inherent in the early movement were not as apparent in 1855 as they have since become through their subsequent, in each case consistent, development. Nor, indeed, were most of the early leaders very conscious of their purposes, as far as details or implications are concerned, and all had very decided interests in common. However varied their approach, they were all equally interested in the spiritual welfare of young men, as over against theological or ecclesiastical niceties. They were, in addition, all sincere members in good standing of various Protestant churches, but eager for fellowship beyond their own denominations. Indeed, the claim advanced in behalf of the American Associations, to the effect that the first great service they had rendered to the country "was to infuse into the

¹² *History*, p. 29.

¹³ *Histoire*, p. 38.

¹⁴ *Souvenirs*, p. 15.

churches the spirit of the Evangelical Alliance" is not without application to the movement as a whole.¹⁵ Finally, and to sum up, they were all animated by a contagious desire to *associate*, directed and energized by the Moravian viewpoint and by a missionary outreach. This spirit is embodied in the official declaration of purpose, formulated in 1855 and known as the Paris Basis:

The Christian Associations have for their object the union of those young men who, regarding Jesus Christ as their God and Saviour according to the Scriptures, desire to be His disciples in their doctrine and in their life, and associate their efforts for the extension of His Kingdom amongst young men.

In the course of subsequent events, two rather clearly defined Association traditions developed. On the one hand was the trend dominated first by England and then by North America, with which the work in French Switzerland and in the Romance countries combined fairly easily; on the other, hand in hand with the "Inner Mission", spread the work in Lutheran countries, with Germany as its base and main stronghold. The influence of the former alignment has consistently shaped the course of world events within the Association, but there has also been continuous evidence of an irreconcilable element emanating from the other, historically the older, faction.

The difference between the two is exceedingly subtle and lies perhaps in fundamental traits of national temper more than in notably diverging policies. Few peoples are more serious about ideas, more concerned about consistency and philosophical justification, or more in the habit of taking life profoundly and earnestly, than those of the Teutonic and Scandinavian group. The so-called Anglo-Saxons, on the other hand, tend to place their emphasis and base their faith on actions, and have developed a cheerful ability to take things as they come without much interest in underlying theories, and often with impatience of them. This deep-running divergence in basic attitude towards life has been emphasized, in the Association world, by the fact

¹⁵ *YMCA Handbook*, p. 444.

that the leaders of one group have been trained theologians and those of the other, practical men of affairs.

There have been, of course, differences in program policy, but they have not followed the same line of division and are not nearly so important. In the early days there was considerable uncertainty about the true scope and function of the YMCA, but it soon became abundantly clear that, while all Associations apparently started with purely religious activities, only those could expect to prosper and develop that extended their program to include definitely social features. This adjustment took place almost immediately in the London Association, as already described, and was a marked feature of developments across the Atlantic. But the same thing was true in Germany. The president of the Rhenish-Westphalian Union, Pastor Dürselen, explained to the Paris convention (1855) that the South German organizations had not cared to join their union because of differences in objective. They were "designed more exclusively to promote the religious edification of the members" while those of the north had several distinct purposes:

First, they are designed as Christian refuges for young men. The young man first entering into life is exposed to a thousand perils, moral and otherwise. . . . Secondly, they are places of Christian nourishment and religious instruction to young men. Thirdly, they are places of instruction. . . . And fourthly, they are designed to connect Christianity with social life. . . .¹⁶

The policy of the northern Associations won out, in Germany, where the effects of the Industrial Revolution began to appear, especially in the second half of the century. By 1894, Pastor Krummacher (Elberfeld) could say:

At present the majority of those which exist in the towns have their own buildings, or have secured rooms in some excellent Christian boarding-houses—*Herberge zur Heimat*—as they are known throughout Germany.

The transition did not take place at quite so early a date in North America. The young Association movement there was

¹⁶ First World Conference Report, p. 54.

caught, in its incipient stage, in the turmoil of financial panic (1856), of the subsequent Great Revival (1857-1860), and of the American Civil War. Feeling ran high throughout the country, during this period, and the Association world fought out its most significant and far-reaching battle. The issue was the true function of the Young Men's Christian Association. In the tide of the religious revival of the times, many Associations sprang into existence, the dominant tone was strongly that of evangelism, and voices were not wanting to call for a frank break with the church and the establishment of a new organization on an interdenominational basis. In the midst of this controversy came the Civil War. Public opinion over the slavery question and the stand the Association should take in that regard, literally tore the membership to pieces and cost more than one organization its life. It was at this juncture that the influence of a new program, connected primarily with the name of one man, began to make itself felt. The New York Association met in 1862 actually to consider disbanding, but decided to make one more try for life and literally staked its all on one individual. That man was Robert McBurney and the program with which he saved his local Association and, within the next twenty years, helped to revitalize the entire North American movement was the famous four-fold ministry to the spiritual, intellectual, social and physical needs of young men, which has since come to be regarded as American YMCA work *par excellence*. To quote Doggett again:

It was the new Association which arose after the American Civil War which developed this new program. Those societies which adopted it survived and grew; the others disappeared. The progressive Associations secured employed officers, property, and members. The purely evangelistic societies, based on the narrower conception of personality and the ascetic view of religion, were burdened with debts, were without secretaries or property, and found few supporters.¹⁷

It will be noted that this program differs only very slightly, as far as purpose is concerned, from that inspired from Elber-

¹⁷ *History*, pp. 384-5.

feld, some twenty years before McBurney opened the first building in New York. It is in methodology and basic attitude that differences are to be looked for.

But before pursuing this trend any further it is important to observe that, at this time, the problems of young women were increasingly becoming a social, in addition to a domestic, matter. As young girls started to earn their own living more widely and to encounter the same problems as young men, they also began to come together in much the same way, and with the model of their brothers' work before them. There is no official recording of any resolution to found a Young Women's Christian Association, but the year 1855 is commonly accepted as the date of its origin. Significantly enough, the beginnings are noted in the two countries where, at the time, were the two main branches of the movement among young men: England and Germany.

In the early 'fifties, a certain Miss Emma Robarts of London started asking her friends to join her in a weekly prayer circle "for their mutual benefit," as she wrote of it herself in 1859, "and for that of any young women in their respective spheres whom they might be enabled to influence for good."¹⁸ At about the same time, the Hon. Mrs. Arthur Kinnaïrd opened a "home" in London for nurses returning from the Crimean War, and also started Bible classes for working girls. Sometime during 1855, these two lines of endeavor were united under the presidency of the Hon. Arthur Kinnaïrd, and given the name of the Young Women's Christian Association. This title, as Miss Robarts explained in the circular prepared on this occasion, "was assumed simply as the feminine of the Young Men's" enterprise, which was already known to the public.¹⁹ During the years 1855-1860, the problems of working girls began to attract attention in Germany also, and an effort was made, notably by young Pastor Burckhardt, of Berlin, to care for their needs in the same way as that undertaken for young men. His example was followed by other pastors, so that deaconess homes and *Vereine* for young

¹⁸ Quoted by Elizabeth Wilson: *Fifty Years of Association Work among Young Women*, p. 11.

¹⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 11.

girls became features of the "Inner Mission" work of the subsequent years. From this time on, though on a much smaller scale, work for young women spread with that for young men from these two main sources of inspiration.

During the first fifty years or so of its existence, the movement in behalf of young women was considerably nurtured and assisted by the older movement. While there was certainly a sizable element of spontaneous self-help about their early beginnings, the part played by men was far from negligible, particularly in the field of administrative problems and financial matters. It is on record, indeed, that George Williams himself had gone so far in the 'forties as to send out a circular in behalf of a "Young Ladies' Christian Association." The time for such a proposition did not ripen, however, until a decade later, when the Crimean War had drawn women more into public life. In North America, women played a prominent part in the religious revivals of the late 'fifties and were stimulated to form prayer circles and Christian unions, many of which developed into regular Associations.

The first American YWCA on record is that of Boston, founded in 1866, and the years immediately following saw the rise of many more. Representatives of the men's work, especially one H. Thane Miller, did much to spread the idea and to encourage the first endeavors. The Cincinnati YWCA specifically voiced its gratitude to this gentleman in the words of its first president:

The instrument under God in the formation of this Association was a member of the YMCA of Cincinnati, who saw the need and suggested the work. This young man, now a missionary in China, has the satisfaction of knowing we are reaping a rich harvest from the small seed he planted.²⁰

One of the outstanding North American YMCA leaders (and one whose sister was equally prominent in the YWCA), Mr. R. C. Morse, throws light on the situation in New York:

²⁰ Wilson: *Fifty Years*, p. 53.

My attention was first called to the Young Women's Christian Association of the city, by learning that while our Association had been given an ample building by generous friends, the Association of young women was poorly accommodated in a small building which they had rented on Irving Place. McBurney, James Stokes, Morris K. Jesup and other directors of our city Association were members of an Advisory Committee on this organization. With their cooperation a movement was soon begun on behalf of the young women, which resulted in securing for them an excellent building on West 15th Street.²¹

It frequently happened that wives and sisters of YMCA representatives very naturally became interested in similar work for women, and so were instrumental in bringing the ideas and policies that were evolving in the one Association to the notice of the other. In a very real sense the two movements developed together, at least up to, roughly, the turn of the century. At first the women were less eager than the men had been for wider contacts and federations, but, as time went on, they too began to feel the need of reaching out. In 1884, a United Central Council of the YWCA was formed, with headquarters in London, and with the Hon. Arthur Kinnaid, now Lord Kinnaid, as its president. Its functions were those of an informal coordinating committee. At the time of the London YMCA Jubilee celebrations in 1894, this body gave way, on its own initiative, to a new organization analogous to that of the YMCA—the World's YWCA. The charter members were England, the United States, Norway and Sweden.

In Canada the first local YWCA was formed in 1873. In the early days the Canadian Associations were affiliated with the American organization, but a separation took place in 1893, when the Dominion Association was formally inaugurated. In 1894, the latter became a member of the newly formed World's YWCA.

But to return to the beginnings. The YMCA work in London had steadily advanced in prestige since its founding, and during the next twenty years or so easily dominated the world movement. It is by no mere chance that the date of the founding of this Association, 1844, has come to stand for the official origin

²¹ *My Life with Young Men*, p. 227.

of the whole enterprise. In 1851, the Earl of Shaftesbury became its honored president (an office which he continued to hold until his death in 1885). The Crystal Palace Exposition helped to make the work more widely known, while George Williams and Edwyn Shipton did much, in their frequent business trips, addresses and correspondence, to keep the movements in various parts of Europe in touch with each other. As M. Senaud puts it, in his work already quoted, from 1855-1875 the London organization "functioned as an international center of the YMCA."²²

As the century advanced, however, the influence of the North American work assumed more and more importance. It made itself felt, primarily in organizational matters. It has already been shown that the "four-fold program," as such, was not a development alien to the thought of the rest of the YMCA world. In North America, however, distinctive methods for carrying out this program were evolved which, indeed, have come to stand almost for the American YMCA "idea" itself. More especially in the United States, conditions were kept very unsettled, during the latter part of the nineteenth century, by war, repeated financial panics and religious revivals. The national atmosphere was largely that of borderland enterprise, so that initiative and energetic action were everywhere at a premium. Moreover, McBurney's program specifically on behalf of young men had to maintain itself in the face of an insistence upon a policy of evangelism in behalf of all which kept sweeping through religious, and so also through Association, circles. The contest was often an emotional one, and lasted until into the late 'eighties. As a result, the YMCAs were hard put to it to keep their heads above water and they developed more detailed organizational technique than was true in other countries.²³ In this way the North American movement perfected two characteristic instruments or operating media, both of which were also adopted by the YWCA: the specially constructed building and the professional secretary. Both of these appeared, of course, in other countries, even with-

²² *Thesis*, p. 9.

²³ It may be argued, of course, that this development is of a piece with the pragmatic and organizational emphasis that has characterized American life, and that this is a sufficient explanation of it.

out American influence. It was, however, in the New World that they received their highest development and became representative Association features. By a very natural if not inevitable process, the methods and influence of North America came to be rather exclusively associated with a type of work that originally had received as much backing from the more progressive German leaders as from those in Anglo-Saxon countries. Indeed, the correlation established by Doggett for the YMCA in North America between liberalism, social emphasis and material success seems equally valid for the continent of Europe. Developments during the latter half of the century point in this direction. In 1875, for instance, the YMCA World Conference at Hamburg discussed at some length the social implications of Association activity. As one of the New York delegates put it:

The influence of vice and crime is in a great measure a social influence. Young men are ruined in their leisure hours; and it is by slaking this thirst for companionship, sympathy and friendship, that the Associations do their work. Their agencies and methods are pre-eminently social.²⁴

Direktor Berthau of the Hamburg Association acknowledged on this occasion that perhaps the reason the German work had been falling off recently was that they restricted themselves too exclusively to "edification." This work revived after 1883, when "on the impulse given by the Rev. F. von Schluembach, until then general secretary of the German Associations in the United States, a new association on the principles held in America was founded in Berlin."²⁵ This enterprise did not adopt the name usually taken in Germany: *Evangelischer Jünglingsverein*, but a translation of the English version: *Christlicher Verein Junger Männer*. Both types continued to exist in Germany and to stimulate each other's activity: "Since the new associations exist the others have received a fresh impulse, and have greatly increased in numbers as well as in inward strength."²⁶ In 1884, at the time of the Berlin World Conference, Christian Phildius of that city showed Mr. Morse of New York over his plant. In the words of the latter:

²⁴ Report, p. 7.

²⁵ *Jubilee Book*, 1901.

²⁶ *Op. cit.*

After he had taken me through the Association building, and explained the varied work carried on in it, we returned to his office, where I expressed surprise at what we had seen. In reply he pulled out a small drawer in his desk which contained copies of our secretarial pamphlets, setting forth the nature and methods of our work and of the General Secretary's responsible relation to both work and workers. These had made him acquainted with the work which he had sought to develop.²⁷

The German and American Associations appear to have been closer together at this period than at any other time of their history.

After 1875, the largest member of the German Swiss Federation, the YMCA of Zürich, "employed a salaried secretary, and this association grew more and more into the likeness of American Associations."²⁸ And similar testimony is forthcoming from French Switzerland:

At that epoch [the eighteen sixties and seventies] the work of our American brethren was in the plenitude of its development. They had already urged upon the attention of their members, a conception of the aim of association work that had taken full possession of my own mind and had begun to assume a practical shape in the European associations, namely that the aim was threefold, the *religious, intellectual* and *physical* culture of young men. . . . Indeed it may be said that the impulse given to the better construction of association buildings was transmitted to us from New York.²⁹

The same influence also made itself felt in the YMCA World's Alliance. In 1878, the Geneva World Conference voted to establish a Central International Committee (after 1900 referred to as the World's Committee), with headquarters in Geneva and a mandate "to render services, not to make decrees." In this action the French, Swiss and North Americans led against a "small but determined opposition."³⁰ Technically, the initiative came from France, but "there is little doubt but that the action taken was

²⁷ *My Life with Young Men*, p. 221.

²⁸ *Jubilee Book*, 1901.

²⁹ *Op. cit.*

³⁰ *YMCA Handbook*, p. 443 ff.

shaped by a knowledge of the American system and by suggestions derived from its successful methods of work.”⁸¹ This committee functioned chiefly in encouraging and stimulating new work; in so doing, it was instructed by the Stockholm Conference of 1888 to stress the employment of general secretaries of the American type and to further national alliances. Interestingly enough, the only such alliances that preceded the world federation were those in Holland and North America. By the last decade of the century, the leadership of the North American movement was quite freely acknowledged in the report of the Central International Committee to the London Jubilee Conference, in 1894:

The Associations of the United States and Canada present the picture of a powerful, active, and complete organization. They are well at the head of our whole work, and their influence is felt far beyond the American Continent.

WORLD BROTHERHOOD (1894-1930)

Beginning with the turn of the century and receiving added impetus from developments after the World War, the term “world movement” received wider and more accurate meaning for both the YMCA and the YWCA. Hitherto the name had stood rather exclusively for Europe and North America, but it now came to include larger and larger sections of other continents until, potentially, no limits now appear on the inhabited globe. This growth was due, in some measure, to the spread of the “idea” by travelers throughout the British Empire, but more especially to the work of the “Overseas” or “Foreign” Divisions of the movements in England and North America. Other countries also have contributed to this extension—Elberfeld had a *Missions-Jünglingsverein* as early as 1823—but never on a very pretentious scale. By far the greatest activity in this direction emanated from the United States and Canada.

The origin of the North American foreign work is to be found within the student Associations, which came to be organized more and more in the 'seventies of the last century, although

⁸¹ *Op. cit.*

the beginnings go back at least another ten years—in some cases farther. Just as young men and women in business had united their efforts for the extension of the Kingdom of God, so also students (both men and women) had come together for the same purpose. They formed Associations after the general pattern of the city organizations and eventually joined forces with the North American movements. Similar student movements originated in other countries, but they did not always link up with the local YMCA and YWCA. In Great Britain, for instance, they are entirely separate. In other cases, Canada for example, the student movements separated from the city organizations after having been united for some time. All student enterprises of this sort came together, however, in 1895, when the World's Student Christian Federation was formed at Vadstena Castle, in Sweden. Since only one movement from any one "region" is recognized as a member of this federation, the North American young men's and young women's student work together (*i.e.*, representing four independent organizations each of which later assumed organic relationships with other autonomous Associations not affiliated with the WSCF) originally constituted the representation of North America. This is an illustration of the multiple composition and loose federation so characteristic of Association circles.

During the last decades of the nineteenth century, missionary interest was very active in the western world, and many individuals who had been identified with college Associations in North America went to carry the gospel message to foreign lands. This spirit was particularly to the fore at the Northfield Student Conference in 1886, under Dwight L. Moody, when a hundred students volunteered for work overseas. Two of their number toured the colleges of North America, the following year, and the result of their efforts was the launching of the Student Volunteer Movement. The motto under which these young people worked had been given them at Northfield: "The evangelization of the world in this generation." This slogan did not lose its significance until after the first decade of the next century. By 1887 a score of mission college Associations were reported as being in existence, while "it is well to note, in passing," writes

one of the historians of the YMCA Foreign Division, "that Robert McBurney's growing interest in the work in foreign lands largely accounts for the interest in America."³²

At the same time, repeated calls for secretaries and financial assistance were coming in from abroad. The first to make themselves heard were from Japan, with the result that, in 1877, the International Committee (the executive body of the North American YMCA Confederation) appointed a "foreign educational committee," which sent fifteen college graduates to Japan, within the next eight years, to teach in the government schools. It soon became apparent that this measure would not meet the situation. In 1888, one of the outstanding leaders in the student work—he had materially assisted the YWCA as well as the YMCA—and the first college secretary of the International Committee, Mr. Luther D. Wishard, secured funds to enable him to make a tour of investigation around the world. Inasmuch as the International Committee was, as yet, not authorized to undertake work abroad, Mr. Wishard could not go as their representative. It so happened, however, that the need of the foreign mission field was urged before the World's Committee of the YMCA that same year. This body was anxious to respond to the call but felt itself hampered financially. Hearing of the situation across the Atlantic, however, the Committee asked Mr. Wishard to undertake his proposed journey as its representative, provided no financial commitment was involved. Mr. Wishard agreed and the World Conference at Stockholm, 1888, ratified the arrangement. At the same time, the British Association released one of its best workers, Mr. Hind Smith, for six months—later extended to eight—for a similar tour in mission lands.

The following year, 1889, saw the official beginning of the Foreign Division of the International Committee. Mr. John T. Swift, one of the government teachers sent out to Japan, and before that time general secretary in Orange, N. J., was in the United States on furlough. Before the Philadelphia convention of the North American Confederation in that year, Mr. Swift,

³² Fleming, Clarence E. *The Foreign Work of the North American YMCA*, p. 7.

together with the chairman of the International Committee, Mr. Elbert B. Monroe, presented the claims of the foreign field so eloquently that, on the motion of McBurney, the following resolution was passed:

RESOLVED, that the International Committee be empowered to establish such Associations, and place such secretaries in the foreign mission field as in its judgment may be proper, and to receive such contributions for this work as Associations and individuals may contribute.

The last clause was added after discussion and "meant a separate budget for the Foreign Department," according to William D. Murray,³³ for some twenty years chairman of the department in question and an eye-witness of the proceedings at Philadelphia. As a result of this action, Mr. Swift was returned to Japan at once as the first representative in foreign lands of the North American YMCAs, while Mr. David McConaughy, general secretary in Philadelphia, almost immediately afterward answered the call from India. It was not long before others followed, most of them going to India, China and Japan.

In the meantime, Mr. Wishard's tour was in full swing and was having a vitalizing effect especially on the student organizations of the Far East, originally started by the missionaries. In 1895-1897, John R. Mott, the most outstanding figure in the Association world, made his first tour of the foreign field. He went in the capacity of general secretary of the newly organized World's Student Christian Federation, and at the same time was a member of the Student Volunteer Movement and student secretary for the International Committee. Wherever he went he practically doubled the existing work, and left the organization of the Student YMCA Union of Japan, the College YMCA of China, and the Intercollegiate YMCAs of India and Ceylon to mark the trail of his progress. In this way, the student work and the work of the International Committee reenforced and overlapped each other. According to Mr. Murray's statement:

³³ *Memoirs*, p. 344 (MS).

different opinions as to just what was our work in mission lands were held by the strong men engaged in it. They were giving their lives to it whatever it was. . . . We spent days going over the problem. At about this time Campbell White appeared with a call for a college secretary for India. McConaughty was home. This brought matters to a focus and we decided at last that our work was primarily a city work, but that we must work with students also. . . . As late as 1903, the Student and Foreign Committees had joint meetings, usually at Mr. Dodge's home.³⁴

The London Jubilee of 1894 was the occasion for wide-spread publicity for the Association movement and consequently for further expansion. Among other forces set in motion, at this time, was the foreign work of the Young Women's Christian Association. The organization of their world movement, also at this time, has already been related. Two of the charter members, Great Britain and the United States, agreed to contribute financial support for work overseas to be sponsored by the new enterprise. The first country to be assisted was India, where for fifteen years before this time small YWCAs had been struggling for existence. The Hons. Emily and Gertrude Kinnaird had done much in their behalf, both on the field and at home, in the early 'nineties, and other English women had gone out to help them on a volunteer basis. In 1892, the Indian Associations sent a definite appeal to England and the United States, and their claims were again advanced at the time of the London Jubilee. As a result, Miss Agnes Gale Hill, of Toledo, was sent out in 1895 as the first employed officer of the YWCA in mission lands. The funds for her salary were voluntarily contributed by her home Association.

Both the YMCA and the YWCA point out that they have never entered a foreign field without being called. In every case the initiative can be shown to have originated abroad. The example of India cited above is an illustration of this. Indeed, so great was the hesitancy about entering a field in which other agencies were already operating that the World's YWCA, at its Geneva Convention of 1902, felt it necessary to reassure its mem-

³⁴ *Memoirs*, p. 354 (MS).

bers on this point by passing a resolution from which the following extract is taken:

. . . We would further recommend that Association work be undertaken only in those countries to which we have been called by the resident missionaries, recognizing that such work may serve as a valuable link to unite all national Associations, and to create a center of interdenominational work in the field. . . .

Two authoritative statements from the YMCA will serve to establish the position of the older organization. Mr. Murray declared publicly in 1901:

The foreign work is not a work the International Committee has sought. We have never occupied a foreign field except at the earnest request of the missionaries on the field, and in nearly every case the request has had to lie in the office of the International Committee for one or two or three or more years before we were able to answer the call of these earnest men of God.⁸⁵

John R. Mott, writing in the *Foreign Mail Annual* for 1905, said: "Whenever the Association has gone to a non-Christian country it has gone at the united call of the missionaries of the Western churches."

The truth of these statements is patent when it is pointed out that isolated YMCAs are reported in Japan in the early 'seventies, while the first secretary was not sent out until 1889. In the same year, it will be remembered, the first man was sent to India, although the first recorded Association is that of Trivandrum, in 1870, and another is reported to have existed in Calcutta as early as 1823! As for China, there was a YMCA in Shanghai in 1876, and there were several student Associations during the 'eighties, while a secretary from North America was not sent until 1895. The first South American Association struggled out its brief life of four years in Valparaiso, even before an appeal came, in 1890, from Brazil in behalf of the sinking movement there. The first North American secretary sent to that con-

⁸⁵ *Jubilee Book*, 1901, p. 223.

tinient was Myron Clark and he went to Rio de Janeiro. The story is repeated all along the line. The Foreign Committee of the YMCA and the Foreign Division of the American YWCA have from the start found themselves unable to keep pace with the demand from abroad. The Canadian YWCA has had the same experience. Indeed, it has not infrequently been the YMCA that has called the YWCA to the rescue in connection with the work for women and girls which grew naturally from its own program. In the course of historical development, the demand for help instead of abating has steadily increased and has more and more exceeded the resources with which to supply it. Nowhere has the tendency to be swept along by forces beyond its control, already shown to be characteristic of the Associations, been more in evidence than in the work of the Foreign Divisions.

Inasmuch as the contribution of North America to the work abroad, in both Associations, has taken the form overwhelmingly of trained leadership, the rapid growth and scope of the work can be best realized from a study of the secretaries sent out. The facts are, accordingly, presented in Tables I and II.

TABLE I—YMCA SECRETARIES SENT FROM NORTH AMERICA TO FOREIGN SERVICE.

COUNTRY OR AREA	PRIOR TO 1900	1900-1904	1905-1909	1910-1914	1915-1919	1920-1924	1925-1929	TOTAL	
								No	Per Cent
China	5	10	23	45	47	21	13	164	30.9
India, Burma, Ceylon	2	11	11	31	22	7	7	91	17.1
Japan, Korea, P. I...	3	7	10	16	19	13	13	81	15.2
Turkey and Europe..	..	..	2	7	16	30	17	72	13.6
Caribbean Area *	1	5	17	11	10	15	4	63	11.9
South America †	1	3	6	10	7	11	5	43	8.1
Africa and Near East.	..	..	..	1	1	7	8	17	3.2
Total No.	12	36	69	121	122	104	67	531	..
Per cent	2.2	6.8	13.0	22.8	23.0	19.6	12.6	..	100.0

* Caribbean Area: Central America, Mexico, Porto Rico and Cuba.

† South America: Brazil, Uruguay, Argentina, Chile and Peru.

Comparable figures for the YWCA are not available, but two lists of field personnel sent by the movement in the United States, covering different periods of time, will serve to indicate the main

TABLE II—YMCA SECRETARIES FROM NORTH AMERICA
ENGAGED IN FOREIGN WORK, AS OF JANUARY 1, 1930.

	<i>No.</i>	<i>Per Cent</i>
China	49	31.2
Turkey and Europe	31	19.7
India, Burma, Ceylon.....	25	15.9
Japan, Korea, Philippines	18	11.5
South America	18	11.5
Africa and Near East	9	5.7
Caribbean Area	7	4.5
Total.....	157	100.0

trends. During the years 1907-1916, inclusive, 59 secretaries were sent out as shown in Table III.

TABLE III—YWCA SECRETARIES SENT FROM NORTH AMERICA
TO FOREIGN SERVICE, 1907-1916.

	<i>No.</i>	<i>Per Cent</i>
China	27	45.7
India, Burma, Ceylon.....	16	27.1
Japan	10	17.0
Latin America	4	6.8
Near East	2	3.4
Total.....	59	100.0

The official field roster for October, 1929, will supplement this picture:

TABLE IV—YWCA SECRETARIES FROM NORTH AMERICA
ENGAGED IN FOREIGN SERVICE, AS OF OCTOBER, 1929.

	<i>No.</i>	<i>Per Cent</i>
China	32	33.7
South America	21	22.1
Japan, Philippines	20	21.0
Turkey and Europe	11	11.6
India, Burma, Ceylon.....	6	6.3
Near East	3	3.2
Caribbean Area	2	2.1
Total.....	95	100.0

Both sets of facts indicate clearly that, while the major interest of both Foreign Divisions is still in China, as it was at

the outset, nevertheless a marked shift has taken place, dating from the war period, away from the Far East and India and towards Latin America, Europe, and the Near East. The emphasis in the Canadian YWCA tends to be on service within the Empire. Several considerations enter into the explanation of the total situation.

From the discussion so far it will be clear that the history of the Association movements abroad, more especially as sponsored from North America, falls roughly into three rather distinct phases: the period before assistance was sent by foreign divisions of other countries; the earlier period of foreign help lasting approximately until the World War, characterized by missionary enthusiasm, organizational consolidation, and a dominant interest in the Far East; and the period of post-war readjustment, in which internationalism has been a dominant interest, the original sense of evangelical mission has been less strong, the independence of national leaders has made itself felt, the world-outlook of the Associations has been considerably widened and rendered more complex, and restlessness has been evident both within Association circles and in their environment.

As regards the first period, it is apparent from what has already been said that the first attempts to start Association movements in non-Christian countries were rather spasmodic and abortive. There is no recorded instance of such an enterprise acquiring stability and permanence without foreign aid. When the North American secretaries went out they brought about a new era at once by consolidating the existing, usually very feeble, units into national organizations. They performed, indeed, for these Associations the service rendered by Dunant, Langdon and Shipton for the original movements. Dr. Mott's student organizations have already been mentioned, and his activity was paralleled in the city work by the representatives of the Foreign Divisions. With the growth of this second type of Association enterprise, a marked change took place in the complexion of the organizations abroad, and the student work, originally the heart of the movements, was gradually all but eclipsed.

The first secretaries to go out were recruited largely from

the Student Volunteer Movement and their motive was clearly a missionary one. It need scarcely be pointed out, of course, that although both Associations refrained from entering a country uninvited, it was to the organized Christian forces already at work there that they deferred, and not to the nationals as a whole of the country in question. This was the time when Kipling's "Take up the white man's burden!" voiced much of the idealism of the day. Moreover, true to the characteristic way of looking at things in Association circles, the expectation was to start indigenous organizations all over the world and to rely on them to look out for themselves. Key cities, especially in student centers, were accordingly selected for initiating work. As Campbell White (of India) stated to the 1901 Jubilee Convention of the YMCA in Boston:

It is our opportunity to touch them with the Gospel while they are there [*i.e.* students in Calcutta] and send them back into thousands of towns and villages that have never yet been visited by a missionary. . . . It is our privilege to preach the Gospel at Calcutta in such a way that it will be heard all over India.³⁶

On the same occasion, Dr. Mott exhorted the delegates to "look upon the North American Associations henceforth not only as a field but also as a mighty force to be wielded on behalf of the evangelization of the multitudinous inhabitants of the earth."³⁷ Evangelistic campaigns and revivals, especially in the Far East and in India, were an outstanding characteristic of the first decades of the new century, under the leadership of Dr. Mott, Sherwood Eddy and others, including nationals like Pastor Ding of China and Bishop V. Z. Azariah of India.

With the formal organization of the Foreign Divisions (1889 for the YMCA, 1906 for the YWCA in the United States, and 1904 for the YWCA in Canada) and with the student work developing independently, Association work was fostered abroad among young business men and women similar to that already existing in North America. At first, rented buildings were used;

³⁶ 1901 *Jubilee Book*, p. 236.

³⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 239.

later, specially constructed buildings were erected very generally, more or less after the model of McBurney's plant in New York, and the "four-fold program" was inaugurated.^{37a} Inevitably it later became necessary to send out secretaries trained in the newest methods developed at home and able to handle rather complex administrative problems. Promoters, executives and program specialists began to replace the "missionary" leaders, and a definite trend towards institutionalization set in. Furthermore, the forces modifying the original aim and policy in North America were naturally brought to bear upon the work abroad through the secretaries sent out. It will therefore be necessary, at this point, to note developments in the rest of the Association world.

The city work of both Associations in the United States and Canada was not pervaded, in the first years of the twentieth century, by the same missionary enthusiasm that still animated the student and "foreign" work. The evangelistic note had not been significantly sounded at home since the days of the Moody and Sankey campaigns of the eighteen-eighties and early 'nineties. With the rise to popularity of the McBurney program and with the over-stimulation of American city and business life, with which the fortunes of both Associations have ever been closely connected, the emphasis came to be placed increasingly on expansion and departmentalization. An era of active building construction set in all over the country in order to house a highly specialized program for greatly diversified groups—boys and girls, industrial workers, railroad employees, soldiers and sailors, foreign born, colored people, and rural workers, in addition to business men and women. Under the pressure of this exceedingly rapid development, the Christian Associations tended to lose control of the situation, and the emphasis in the program—especially in the physical work—was determined more by the desires of the membership than by any very aggressive leadership. Moreover, the membership itself had undergone a significant, if rather inevitable, change. Almost from the beginning, even in London, the

^{37a} This description, to be sure, fits the YMCA policy more closely than that of the YWCA but the difference appears to be due less to any deliberate intent on the part of the latter organization than to its relatively less strong financial position.

"associate" membership outnumbered the regular "voters," and the leaders were disturbed over the fact that membership in the Association did not seem to mean much to the newcomers. In North America, in fact, the distinction between "active" and "associate" members practically lost all meaning, especially after the turn of the century. It depended on the circumstance of church membership,—the so-called Portland test adopted by the North American Confederation of the YMCA in 1869 and subsequently by the YWCA; and, since enjoyment of the available privileges bore no relation to qualifications for voting and holding office, active membership meant little to the average young man and woman who joined the Associations.

With the rise to prominence of the trained secretary, a third factor entered into the situation, so that Association membership, in the twentieth century, fell into three distinct categories: the board members, originally the sole leaders and now largely endorsers of the work; the professional staff technically in charge of the management and the program; and the ordinary membership, "active" and "associate" alike, which constituted the main field of endeavor. The true life of the organization was now formed chiefly within the first two groups; financial support was the special contribution of the lay group, while responsibility for policy building as well as execution came to rest increasingly with the secretaries. Rather a striking difference between the two Christian Associations should be noted at this point. Owing in some measure to the greater leisure of women, but also to conscious effort on the part of the secretariat, the YWCA has been able to carry its board members into the organizational structure far more than has been true among the men. The women on the boards and committees are more of a real, participating element in the conduct of their work; nevertheless, it is true in the YWCA as in the men's Association, that most of the initiative and leadership comes, and is likely to continue to come, from the professional group.

This rapid and diversified expansion, moreover, was taking place in a spiritual atmosphere that was undergoing important changes. There was growing up, in American philanthropic cir-

cles, a new spirit which, at its best, combined an earnest desire to discover and face the actual facts of social conditions with a burning optimism as to the possibility of reconstruction according to social standards. There developed in the colleges and universities of the country an ever widening interest in sociology, economics and psychology, and the trained professional social worker began to supplant the former "volunteer." Departments of research and social welfare were built up in many leading philanthropic and religious organizations, and various methods of study and evaluation were developed. Business enterprise did not remain unaffected; personnel welfare departments came increasingly to the fore and the merchant-philanthropist made himself felt as a characteristic product of American civilization. The old virtues of piety and "godliness" came to be quite generally replaced, in American public estimation, by that of "social-mindedness."

With the growth of the rational viewpoint and the visible demonstration in the material world of man's intellectual power, it is not surprising to find developing a tendency to discount spiritual needs and realities altogether. Moreover, idealism itself, when confronted with the facts of social evil, often enough joined forces with intellectual skepticism to undermine the foundations of faith. In this situation many religious groups sought refuge in reaction and conservatism; but there were others who seized upon the spiritual value of the new outlook. Perhaps the finest product of this whole trend was a revitalized Christian philosophy, associated especially with the names of Josiah Strong, Walter Rauschenbusch, and Washington Gladden, which urged the necessity of reconstructing the order of human society itself according to the principles and values of Jesus; of building the Kingdom of God, here on earth. This social gospel, as it came to be called, steadily increased its hold on the organized religious forces, and found expression in a declaration of social ideals and standards, first put forth by the Methodist Episcopal Church and formally adopted in 1912 by the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. This document, composed of six-

teen articles, has come to be known as "The Social Ideals of the Churches."³⁸

Both Christian Associations felt the impact of this development. The reaction of the YMCA was the more vigorous in the field of inquiry, and manifested itself in the policies and experiments of individual organizations or secretaries, notably among those engaged in work with boys. The YWCA, on the other hand, responded more conspicuously to the new philosophy and, owing probably in no small measure to its own greater compactness and integration, acted more unanimously as a body.

The social gospel made itself felt in the work of the National Board most significantly through its industrial program. The name associated more than any other with the origin and development of this work, is that of the late Florence Simms, national industrial secretary from 1904 to 1923. The change in approach that was generally taking place is reflected in her own spiritual development, as related by herself in a public address:

The greatest thing in my life, I knew, was my knowledge of Christ. I was very sincere in wanting that all other women should have that knowledge. So I went. We had factory meetings at noon at which we presented our kind of religion. We talked to those girls about the things we wanted to talk about. I think they were wonderful. They listened. They really listened. I am ashamed to tell you this morning that I do not even know what wages they earned. I am ashamed to tell you this morning that I was not concerned about the hours they worked. . . . I knew that what I needed and what I was struggling for most was a religious life; and I supposed that that was what they also ought to be about; not seeing that they did not have the basis and the foundation of all that had come to me. Absolutely looking over it! Looking over it! That is the way we started out; and I was not an exception in that.³⁹

The program advocated was, on the one hand, the development of self-governing clubs among women and girls in industry to cope with their own intellectual, spiritual and recreational needs (the same program, incidentally, that was coming to promi-

³⁸ At this writing the document is undergoing revision.

³⁹ Richard Roberts: *Florence Simms*, pp. 182-3.

nence in the work with younger girls and, among the men, with boys); and on the other, the study of working conditions with a view to their improvement through legislation and through labor organization. In 1920, the National Convention adopted the "Social Ideals of the Churches" together with the resolutions on social reconstruction adopted by the Federal Council in 1919. The YMCA about the same time adopted the "Social Ideals" but has not given them prominence in its policy building as have the women.

In the meantime, the World's YWCA was being fired with the same spirit. About 1906, a questionnaire was sent out to all countries asking each local organization what it was doing to meet the social and industrial problems of women. England was discovered to be decidedly in the lead, but everywhere the situation called for serious attention. Florence Simms was therefore asked to head a commission of ten women to survey conditions in Europe, in preparation for a general discussion at the Berlin World Conference, in 1910. This gathering was dominated by social interest and zeal. Miss Simms led two long sessions devoted to her report; one evening three speeches were delivered—in German, French and English, respectively—on the same topic; the conference adopted six resolutions bearing upon the function of the YWCA as an agency for Christianizing the social order. The interest of the World's YWCA in such matters increased as time went on, especially since 1920. As a result of the open meeting of the World's Committee at Champéry, in that year, an industrial committee was appointed as a permanent part of the work, and Miss Mary Dingman—associated with Florence Simms from 1914 on—was called to the secretaryship. While no action on the same scale is recorded in the World's YMCA, individual Associations had been instituting similar industrial programs, and both the American and British student movements could report to the 1909 conference of the WSCF, at Oxford, that there were on their staffs special secretaries to guide social study and service.

Along with this interest in social problems in America, indeed as an integral part of it, there has grown up an emphasis on play

as a significant factor in social and individual adjustment. To be sure, the essence of this viewpoint had been acknowledged almost from the beginning in the program of the YMCA, especially in London and New York, as will be recalled from the quotations presented above. The implications of the term "play," however, underwent an interesting evolution in the course of developments. The question of "recreations" came up for discussion at the very first world conferences, but the proposal to incorporate them met with general disapproval. Shipton said in 1862: "I do not think that it is part of the Association's work to provide any man with amusements." A few years later, in 1867, McBurney declared in the same spirit: "It is our business to exclude amusements from the rooms of the Association; Christ did not use the amusement plan." However, by 1890, he had changed his mind: "It would be difficult to exaggerate the importance of the social element as a factor in winning and holding young men in right paths."⁴⁰ With the new century, educators and psychologists gave ever more emphasis to the latter point of view, and the programs of the American Associations simply followed the general trend. The result has been that recreation, especially of a physical sort, assumed ever larger proportions in the work, both at home and abroad. The YMCA has stressed team-play and competitive sports on a regional, national or international basis, and has sought to cultivate understanding and goodwill among widely differing groups by this means. The trend in the YWCA has been away from competitions as such, and in the direction of group games and physical self-expression for the individual. Both Associations have laid much emphasis on health education, in this connection. With the same general development, there likewise spread an increasing interest in boys and girls, and the age limit for membership in the American Associations was steadily lowered. In some units youngsters of ten are now admitted, and frequently there is provision for sub-membership groups even younger.

The drift of this North American development means that the Associations, without departing from their fundamental purpose

⁴⁰ Both statements are quoted by Doggett: *Life of McBurney*, p. 140.

to minister to the spiritual needs of young men and women—have substituted a program of “character building” (using the term in its widest, richest meaning) for the old evangelistic emphasis. It is in the conception of human nature and how to deal with it that the shift has taken place. While, of course, there are all degrees of efficiency and significance in the work of different units, the Association trend appears to be in line with the more “liberal” elements in both religious and sociological circles. This spirit is, moreover, a leaven working through the structure of the two Associations and tending to counteract the rather thoroughgoing institutionalization that both had undergone just before the war—a condition less marked, however, in the Canadian YWCA. As already indicated, the effects of events in North America were felt in the work abroad. Both the strong institutional development and the change in philosophical viewpoint increasingly made themselves felt, so that by the time the Great War broke out in 1914 a definite change had taken place. The city work was distinctly in the ascendant with highly specialized and diversified programs as well as complex administrative machinery, while the original missionary, evangelistic drive had somewhat subsided.

With this great disaster a new period was inaugurated in Association circles, abroad perhaps more than at home, as well as throughout the civilized world. As the war clouds rolled away it became clear at once that the North American Associations were confronted with a problem that had scarcely existed before. In spite of regular world conferences, each national movement in the two alliances had developed so far largely without much reference to the others and according to a pattern of its own. The comparative isolation of North America from European affairs generally, before the war, had only emphasized this tendency. Moreover, the world outreach of the European movements had been so easily out-distanced by the activity of the North American Foreign Divisions that virtually separate “world movements” within the larger alliances had grown up, with headquarters in New York and with not very much awareness of Geneva and London. Indeed, the two World’s Committees then

had too little leadership and standing to exert more than a fraction of their present influence. The war work of the North American Associations carried them overseas in large numbers to minister to the needs of enlisted men and prisoners of war, nurses, signal corps girls, French munitions workers, etc.; it was but natural that these men and women, eager as they were for service, should remain to help in the complex process of reconstruction. Indeed, they were repeatedly urged to do so by the peoples concerned and by their governments. But the older Continental Associations also had organizations in many of these countries, some of them antedating the impact of the Anglo-Saxon tradition, and they had been developing according to another philosophy. In this way, the different viewpoints and methods within the Association world were brought face to face and could not avoid encountering each other.

While interest in social problems has, of course, been a marked feature also of European developments, even before the turn of the century, it was in political rather than in religious or philanthropic circles that it found its most significant expression. In this it differed radically from the trend in North America. What had come, in European countries, to be regarded and increasingly exercised as a state function, financed by state revenue derived from public taxes, had in the United States and Canada been very largely developed by private enterprise, privately and voluntarily paid for. The natural consequence was that the several Association movements, on opposite sides of the Atlantic, developed very different ideas of the part they ought to play in a given community. The contrast to America is particularly marked, of course, in Lutheran countries, where the Association movement has developed virtually—though not altogether technically—inside the church. But, while it is certainly true that other agencies, largely subsidized by the state, exist in Europe to carry on many of the activities associated in North America with the YMCA and the YWCA, it is also true that the European Associations have not been able financially to keep pace with developments across the Atlantic. That they had once been ready to follow suit is apparent from the many statements made

to the 1901 Jubilee Conference of the YMCA, in Boston, and on other occasions. The North American Associations would, of course, never have been able to erect their many imposing buildings or to assemble their well trained staffs as they have done, were it not for the second aspect of the North American development—the philanthropic tradition existing among business men, made possible, of course, by the enormous productivity of business enterprise. It has become usual, during the last sixty years or so, for men of wealth to devote to public purposes large portions of the fortunes they so often built up themselves from very humble beginnings. In addition to the fact that there is vastly more wealth available for philanthropy in North America than anywhere else in the contemporary world, a public spirit of giving exists there to an extent unknown in most countries. Both the YMCA and the YWCA in the United States and Canada have depended, often for their very existence, on the loyal generosity of men and women of this type.

Another very real element making for less cordial relationships is to be found in the difference in religious viewpoint. The Continental Associations have felt rather estranged from those of North America, in the post-war years, on account of what they cannot help regarding as a loss in spiritual force. And it is not only the inroads of materialism and secularism that they deplore, associated with physical prosperity and large, spiritually indifferent membership groups, but also the very quality of their religious outlook. It is in the basic presuppositions of the two developments at their best, that the divergence is most fundamental. This may be illustrated, for example, by the criticisms of the social gospel expressed by Dr. Visser 'tHooft, a member of the staffs of both the World's YMCA and the WSCF. He finds in it a tendency to elevate ethical conduct to the supreme position in the spiritual hierarchy, and he regards this as both the strength and weakness of the social gospel:

Its strength, because it engenders in its best representatives a wonderful power of moral leadership, a prophetic indignation against the evils of the present social order and a contagious determination to infuse social life with the spirit of Christ Himself. Its weakness, be-

cause it leads easily to a barren moralism, a Christianity from which all the transcendent, more-than-human elements are eliminated and that debases religion itself to a mere dynamic within a process of essentially utilitarian ethics.⁴¹

In general, there is a feeling in Continental religious circles, that America has lost its real consciousness of God and is presuming beyond human strength in its desire to reconstruct society. This criticism, of course, is directed at the Association movements as well as at the other organized Christian forces.

But other trends have been at work to modify the philosophy of the Foreign Divisions, apart from the social gospel and the interest in "social-mindedness," and these have grown directly from the work on the field. The object of the foreign work, in accord with the mission philosophy of the time, is frequently stated as "planting the Association idea" in foreign fields, in the expectation of leaving it to grow and bring forth fruit by its own strength, after having been tended through the initial stages. Another way of putting it is to speak of the ideal of "self-directing, self-supporting, and self-propagating Associations." In Dr. Mott's words:

The policy of the International Commission is not to start a large number of new Associations, but to concentrate its forces on building up at commanding centers model Associations of such strength and vitality that they will become self-propagating.⁴²

The results of this policy in actual practice, however, have not only fallen short of the original expectations, but have also tended to modify the aim of the work itself. In the first place, it has become abundantly clear that no such pace can be maintained as was implied in the strategy outlined above and in the slogan: "the evangelization of the world in this generation." It was the unconscious drive of this motto, probably, which accounted for the excessive effort of both YMCA and YWCA to enter almost every accessible field, whereas now that gifts are inadequate to meet increasing costs they are conscious of "over-

⁴¹ *The Background of the Social Gospel in America*, pp. 39-40.

⁴² *Foreign Mail Annual*, 1905, p. 9.

extension." The democratic procedure of boards and committees, by means of which the Associations function, was totally unfamiliar to the countries that represent the field of the Foreign Divisions; considerable guidance and help in self-government have therefore usually been required long after the prescribed period has elapsed. Nor has it been easy, especially among the women, to find enough leaders capable—either as secretaries or as board members—of carrying on alone. Perhaps even more important, however, has been the financial aspect of the problem. There have been very serious difficulties in the way of complete self-support, for the several movements abroad. In most countries, agencies like the public lottery and the race track are still widely counted on to supply such necessary funds for altruistic enterprise as are not derived from government appropriations. This has meant, on the one hand, considerable resistance to the American "financial campaign" method among nationals and constituencies abroad, and, on the other, frequent conflicts in ethical principles for the North Americans.

In addition to this problem, furthermore, the Foreign Divisions have been faced with the fact that most of the world has been in financial straits since the war of 1914-1918. This means that other countries in the two World Alliances⁴³ that had been contributing in some measure to the work in mission lands,—primarily Great Britain—have had to make drastic cuts in their budgets. The burden of North America (which, in 1928, possessed over four-fifths of the YMCA wealth of the world) has therefore naturally been increased, while the field for service has not ceased from enlarging. The financial contributions at the home base have been steadily on the increase, but not in the required proportion. This has been particularly true since 1920, when public interest in philanthropy outside the United States appears to have taken a downward trend towards the level existing before the war, after having undergone considerable stimulation during the war period itself.⁴⁴ In 1923-1924, accordingly,

⁴³ Although the name "World Alliance" is not used officially in the YWCA, for convenience of reference the term is used in this report to designate either world organization.

⁴⁴ Cf. C. H. Fahs, *Trends in Protestant Giving*.

the National Board of the YWCA was obliged to check its expanding program, both at home and abroad, and keep it forcibly within the limits of available funds. As regards the men's organization, the European work was at first financed from special war and other funds on hand, but when these gave out in 1925-1926, the work initiated was very far from being self-supporting. The Foreign Division, therefore, assumed this additional burden, which meant retrenchment to a certain extent in the other fields under its care. The country to feel the change most heavily was China, as may be seen from the personnel figures presented earlier in this section. But the financial strain was too heavy for the organization, and it was forced in 1928 to follow the example of the women's Association since the accumulated deficit had then reached the staggering figure of \$1,008,000.00. In this emergency a stabilization fund of \$1,250,000.00 was raised, that same year, by devoted friends of the work, and substantial budget reductions were ordered in 1929.

The experience of the World War, in addition, altered the political and economic situation throughout the world, and left the Associations functioning in a new environment. A world community has been in the process of consolidation ever since that event, and nations—indeed whole continents—that had hitherto been largely discounted if not exploited by the European powers, have become factors to be reckoned with. The vitality of the British Empire, for instance, has, as it were, shifted from the center (London) to the periphery (the dominions); "mission lands" have increasingly acquired status as equals in the family of nations, Japan indeed ranking as one of the leading world powers; and Latin America has been steadily increasing in importance. The redistribution of economic control and the revelation to these various countries of their own strength and importance, are among the chief explanations of the changed order. The reaction to this development within the work of the Foreign Divisions manifested itself in several ways. The older movements, *i.e.*, in India, Japan, and especially China, were now in the hands of national as well as "foreign" leaders, and were exceedingly conscious of what they had to contribute to the methods and

philosophy of North America. As these movements matured and gained strength, funds were withdrawn from them in favor of what were considered needier fields in Europe and the Near East, as already related, and also in Latin America. North American business enterprise awoke to the importance of improving relationships with the sister republics of the western hemisphere, and public opinion began to respond more to Pan-Americanism than to the old mission appeal. The Christian Associations were called on to act in accord with this spirit. Furthermore, a change took place in the Association membership abroad, especially in Latin America and the dependencies of the British Empire, and work for the indigenous population came to be preferred over that for domiciled Europeans. This meant a change of program, reaching out into rural and industrial communities, and a definite lowering of the administrative expenses. Countries like China and Japan, where the membership had always been dominantly indigenous, found themselves so impoverished by post-war conditions—domestic revolution and climatic disaster no less than forcibly accelerated withdrawal of American funds—that the large buildings with their high maintenance cost came to be regarded by many as more of a stumbling block than an aid to development. For one reason or another the desire arose throughout these countries to move away from the city type of organization, and to experiment with mass movements or non-equipment work. The bulk of the program, it is true, is still confined to the large cities and follows the original pattern, but the more progressive leaders are feeling out in other directions in no uncertain way.

Another force working within the Foreign Divisions toward a modification of the original ideal, has been the changing attitude of the North American secretaries themselves. Attention has already been called to the different type sent out as the buildings were erected, and to their increased technical preparation. They approached the work, for the most part, from a different point of view from that of their predecessors; their service was rendered not so much in the spirit of missionary dedication as in that of professional consciousness. But there has also been

a change in the attitude of the older, pioneer, group itself. Sent out with a clear-cut purpose to fulfill a given task, they have come to realize to a surprising extent the wealth of spiritual and cultural resources which these ancient civilizations of the so-called "mission field" have to contribute to the life of the world. Both Associations have taken very seriously the original ideal as far as the element of indigenous leadership is concerned, and have been eager for real comradeship with their colleagues of other nationalities. In the case of this second group, the old missionary superiority yielded to a spirit of friendly give-and-take. There are those among them who have expressed some concern lest the "Association idea" itself be too closely integrated with essentially Anglo-Saxon standards of ethics without due regard to the possible contributions of other traditions. It must be admitted, however, that the number of spiritual adventurers in the secretariat has not been on the increase for some time. Many of the original group have found scope for themselves outside the ranks of the Associations. According to an analysis by one of their own number, there have been two tendencies in this regard. First, all who could not make the adjustment away from the "white man's burden" idea were inevitably pushed out of the movement; and secondly, some of the best pioneering spirits were also finding the Association atmosphere increasingly un congenial. Much the same evolution has taken place, of course, in missionary circles and in religious work in general. It has, moreover, been much more true of the YMCA than of the women's organization. The latter, arriving somewhat later on the field, never experienced the missionary phase to the same extent and, being a woman's organization with the aim of assisting women to take their place in the business life of the world, has always had professional dignity considerably more at heart than the YMCA. But there is restlessness and dissatisfaction in both Associations, for all that; a loss of certainty in the face of changing values; and a sense of bewilderment at the suddenly increased complexity of their problems. And with it all is a definite reaching out towards deeper spiritual vitality. The influence both of the social gospel in America and of the internationalism gen-

erated by the work abroad has led to serious questioning about the ultimate aims and drives of the Foreign Divisions which are not shared, in the same measure, by the older European movements. Material insecurity and disillusionment have led these latter away from any such trust in human ability to handle fundamental social evils as fired the best idealism of North America, while "internationalism" for them, in the nature of the case, since they have had so little contact with other continents, is still largely synonymous with the idea of Pan-Europe. The issue between the old world and the new world ideals, in its spiritual aspect, comes to expression most forcibly over the question of interconfessionalism—or oecumenism, as it is officially called.

There is a sense in which it can be said that appreciation of the spiritual riches of other religions has been present, at least in germ, since the inception of the Association movement. Henri Dunant, for instance, says in his "Memoirs" that "already in 1849 I said the work ought to be international, interconfessional and based on the principle of personal initiative." Similarly, there is strong evidence that the early leaders of the World's YWCA used the term "interdenominational" to include all branches of the Christian church.

The development of the World's YWCA has been dominated by Great Britain and the United States, both of which, but especially the latter, have in turn been influenced by the work overseas. Definite sympathy for certain aspects of faiths even outside the Christian church is not wanting among them. The same is true of the North American YMCA although, until fairly recent times, it had not significantly affected the men's World Alliance. The implications of this sympathy were not apparent to the Association community as a whole, however, until the forces were set in motion that brought the several movements more definitely face to face. The question of interconfessionalism came to an issue at the Budapest World Conference of the YWCA, in 1928, and two years later the Finland Association withdrew from the World Alliance. The same conflict smoldered dangerously near the surface at the Helsingfors World Conference of the YMCA in 1926.

The Association world today, accordingly, presents an interesting study in international relationships. In many ways, the two movements stand ready to function significantly in the evolving world community. As already indicated, the World War tremendously stimulated the forces both of nationalism and of internationalism, and the several Christian Associations the world over have felt the impact of both. On account of their deep respect for individual autonomy, with subordination of the ideal of individual guidance to that of service, and their natural preference for getting things done, the North American movements have sought to meet the needs of a situation, wherever and whenever such needs presented themselves. Thus, particularly in the foreign work, they have been drawn in so many directions and by so many different kinds of people that their present ministry is not working unequivocally in the direction of harmony. There is some danger that the sympathy of secretaries for their local constituencies may result in enlisting them as spokesmen for purely nationalistic aspirations. The hope of the home administrations, on the other hand, like that of both World's Committees, is quite definitely set in the direction of world brotherhood. The YWCA appears in some ways to have its work on the field better in hand and to be more definitely aware of what it is doing, than is true of its fellow organization. It is the aim of the YWCA and in many cases its practice, as in its international institutes in the United States, to bring representatives of various nationalities together in the same building, while the YMCA has in a number of instances established separate work in separate quarters for each group. The avowed aim, however, of the Foreign Division is international, and in the boys' camps and the Indian hostels is has sought to give reality to this ideal. Both World Alliances, in the nature of the case, have fostered the spirit of fellowship and mutual understanding among nations. To this end they have encouraged periodic international conferences on a large scale, and by means of correspondence and visitation have sought to interpret the aspirations of one group to another. But the different viewpoints obtaining within the ranks of these two great Christian Associations are such that they cannot be reconciled unless there

be present a degree of mutual understanding and trust unusual in any human society. There is evidence that leaders in the two main streams of European development (*i.e.*, the indigenous movements and those promoted from North America) as well as in the work developed elsewhere are making real efforts in this direction. The problem is to build world fellowship on a basis that all can respect and that can stand the strain and disintegrating impact of the modern world. Such a basis means a willingness to understand and, what is infinitely more, to admit differences even in the realm of life's holiest values. Whatever success in this most taxing of all human undertakings the Christian Associations may achieve will be the measure of their spiritual vitality.

CHAPTER II

THE MEMBERSHIP OF THE CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATIONS

As was indicated in the preceding historical analysis, the first Christian Associations clearly resulted from a conscious need for spiritual fellowship,—for comradeship in a quest for the higher personal values of life and in an effort to enlist others in such a quest. As long as the groups thus brought together were small and relatively self-contained, qualifications for membership were more or less obvious. But as the young Associations began to expand, and particularly as movements in different countries came in contact with one another, some formal definition was called for. At the same time a difficulty with regard to membership and its meaning was introduced into Association thinking, which has tended to assume greater significance, perhaps, than the situation properly merits.

THE MEMBERSHIP BASIS

The first, and still essentially the standard, formulation of such qualifications was arrived at and adopted by the first world conference of the YMCA in 1855. It is generally referred to as the Paris Basis and reads as follows:

The Young Men's Christian Associations seek to unite those young men who, regarding Jesus Christ as their God and Saviour according to the Holy Scriptures, desire to be His disciples in their doctrine and in their life, and associate their efforts for the extension of His Kingdom among young men.

This statement, either in the above form or in some adaptation, has since that time represented the minimum requirement for "active," or voting, membership which a national movement may

maintain and be admitted to the World Alliance. It has not been unusual for individual national movements to make additional requirements for their own organizations. Thus, while Great Britain accepted "evidence of being a converted character" as sufficient, many Associations have insisted on membership in some Protestant (in Europe often the national) church. Among these must be reckoned the North American movements, which between 1869 and 1925 required membership in an evangelical church.

The tendency throughout the field of interest of the YMCA Foreign Division has been to approach the breadth and simplicity of the Paris Basis, after having started with much more strictly ecclesiastical requirements, and in some cases to reword the Paris statement in less theological terms. Thus, in the first countries to which these Associations sent missionary representatives—Japan, China, Korea and India—the accepted qualification was naturally that of evangelical church membership. In the first three countries mentioned this requirement still prevails, but the same cannot be said at the present time of any other of the movements here under consideration, and the survey reports indicate that even in these cases there is considerable dissatisfaction with the basis among the secretaries and program participants. The majority of the lay leaders, however, oppose a change. The National Council of the YMCA of India, Burma and Ceylon changed in 1920 to the Paris Basis, after having operated since 1891 on the following, exceedingly doctrinal statement:

The active membership of such Associations shall be composed of young men who are members in full communion of Christian Protestant Churches; and we hold those Churches to be Christian Protestant, which do maintain the scriptures to be the only rule of faith and practice and do believe in the Lord Jesus Christ, the only begotten son of the Father, King of Kings and Lord of Lords, in whom dwelleth all the fullness of the God-head, who was made sin for us though knowing no sin, and who bare our sins in His own body on the tree, and that His name is the only name under heaven among men whereby we must be saved from everlasting punishment.

Reformulations of the Paris declaration are encountered, of course, in the countries where Association work in cooperation with North America has been most recently organized. For example, in Latvia voting members are required to sign the following written pledge:

I hereby declare that, as a member of the YMCA, I will seek in my inward life and outward conduct, and through cooperation with others, to make effective in the life of the community the standards and character set forth in the life and teachings of Jesus Christ.

The Esthonian version does not differ significantly, while in Czechoslovakia an "active" member is simply required to "accept as his own and endeavor to follow" the aims of the organization as embodied in the constitution.

With the rise to prominence of the work in Latin America, Europe and the Near East, a new element was introduced into the situation through contact with Christian churches which were not Protestant—to say nothing of being evangelical. While, as already indicated, interdenominationalism was one of the outstanding characteristics of the Association movement from the outset, this term was first interpreted—especially in North America—to apply only to the so-called evangelical denominations of Protestantism. In the course of time, however, and especially with the war years, it was extended to include eventually all branches of the Christian church. Efforts were therefore made to word the basis for voting membership, in these non-Protestant but Christian countries, so as to make it clear that all avowed Christians of good moral character were eligible. Broadly speaking, this development took place definitely after the original evangelical motivation of the Foreign Division had lost much of its force. As an example of this trend, the constitution of the Athens YMCA may be cited, which defines as qualified for voting membership those young men

who recognize the Gospel of Christ as the eternal and indispensable source of every spiritual and moral power, according to the teaching of their Mother Church, and who agree to work and to contribute to the extension and realization of His principles and moral teachings

among Young Men according to the Paris Basis of 1855 of the homonymous World Association.¹

Perhaps no Association has been more meticulously explicit in its extension of the original meaning of the Paris Basis, than the Iloilo YMCA, in the Philippines, which declares in its constitution:

Any man of good moral character, eighteen years of age or over, belonging to the Roman Catholic, Independent, Protestant, or any other Christian Church, or those not belonging to any church, may become active members of this Association by declaring, that believing in God and in Jesus Christ as their Saviour, according to the Holy Scriptures, they desire to be disciples of Jesus Christ in their doctrines and in their life and to associate their efforts for the extension of His Kingdom among young men.²

In the YWCA much the same trend is discernible, but it took place at an earlier period and the change was made somewhat more consciously. The original basis adopted by the World's YWCA, when organized in 1894, was an adaptation of the Paris formulation, as will be readily seen:

The World's Young Women's Christian Association seeks to unite those young women who, regarding the Lord Jesus Christ as their God and Saviour, according to the Holy Scriptures, are vitally united to Him through the love of God shed abroad in their hearts by the Holy Spirit, and desire to associate their efforts for the extension of His Kingdom among all young women by such means as are in accordance with the Word of God.

The question of cooperation with other Christian churches came up almost immediately, however, in the younger movement, and influenced at least the leaders. The first annual report declared: "Every member of every outward and visible church is welcome to join our ranks, provided they can subscribe to our basis."³ Beginning in 1909, moreover, an interest was taken in non-

¹ Constitution of Athens YMCA, p. 5.

² Constitution of Iloilo YMCA, Section 2.

³ Proctor-Niven Memorandum, p. 1.

Protestant girls in Russia and Bulgaria, and work was sponsored from London definitely without any thought of proselytizing. It was as a result of this contact, more especially with the Eastern Orthodox churches, but also to some extent with Roman Catholics, that there arose some question about the adequacy of the qualifications for voting membership. For instance, Miss Clarissa Spencer, at the time general secretary of the World's Committee, wrote home of her preliminary visit to Bulgaria: "I found in talking with the few leaders I met that there was a prejudice against our basis. . . . It sounded foreign and Protestant and like a propaganda. . . ." ⁴ The outcome was that, in 1914 at Stockholm, the basis was officially changed. In this instance, the wording is actually more doctrinal than in the original, but it commended itself more than the other to members of the Orthodox and Roman Catholic faiths, and perhaps sounded fresher and consequently more meaningful to the Protestants themselves. At the same time, the aims and methods of the organization, more or less implied in the original statement along with the basis of membership, were separated and elaborated into a statement of "object" and a set of "principles." The new basis has played in the YWCA very much the same rôle as that described above for the Paris Basis of the YMCA. It reads as follows:

Faith in God the Father as Creator, and in Jesus Christ, His only Son, as Lord and Saviour, and in the Holy Spirit as Revealer of Truth and Source of Power for life and service, according to the teaching of Holy Scripture.

The YWCA of the United States first followed the lead of the YMCA in this country and insisted on evangelical church membership as a test of Christian earnestness. It relinquished this absolute requirement, however, in 1920, five years before the YMCA. Specifications for voting membership in the YMCAs of the United States and Canada as of the YWCA of the United States, are now optional with the several constituent units, the choice lying between the former basis and a simple affirmation of faith in Jesus Christ and the purposes of the respective Asso-

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 2.

ciations. The National Convention of the Canadian YWCA in its most recent action (1927) defined as a full member any woman who sympathizes with the organization's purpose and who can accept the following statement:

I wish to join in the world-wide fellowship of the Young Women's Christian Association, to declare my faith in our Lord, Jesus Christ, and my desire to serve others in His spirit of love.⁵

The voting privilege is given only to full members who have reached eighteen years of age. As already demonstrated, the tendency within the Foreign Divisions of these national bodies and their fellow organizations abroad has been in the more liberal direction. Both Associations make additional requirements as to sex, age (with few exceptions, seventeen or eighteen years and over) and the payment of fees.

The qualifications so far discussed apply, of course, to the "active" or voting membership. They seek to determine the sort of people who are to control the policies of the organizations and to hold office in them. From the start additional, or "associate," members were admitted to the privileges provided, and from the start these non-voting members usually outnumbered the others. In fact, the "active" membership represents on the whole a relatively small group. The average figure for the YMCAs here studied is 17 per cent of the total membership, the middle range being from 10 per cent to 14 per cent. The proportion is smallest in Latin America, with the exception of Peru which has a very small total membership (245), and is largest in Greece. The high proportion in the latter country is unique and may be attributed, in part, at least, to the practice obtaining at Saloniki, the largest local Association, of having all regular participants in the program sign a modified version of the Paris Basis printed on their membership application blanks. No attempt is made to invest the act of joining the Association with special significance and the practice is essentially a recognition of the fact that the distinction between "active" and "associate" membership has come to have little reality for those enjoying the program. In

⁵ Constitution of the Canadian YWCA, Art. 3, Section 1.

Athens the same fact is recognized but otherwise dealt with. Because of the obvious difficulty of participation in control by large numbers, the practice in the Athens Association is to restrict the voting privilege to those who have been members at least a year. The same method is followed in the YMCAs of Argentina and Uruguay.

Information for the YWCA is rather scanty, but the indication is that the situation is not unlike that of the YMCA in Turkey and in Latin America. In Latvia and Esthonia, especially the former, "active" membership is thought of as potentially including all adults who regularly participate in the affairs of the Association, through the program or otherwise, and the basis is made sufficiently liberal to permit this. Accordingly, the situation approximates conditions in the Saloniki YMCA. In the Far East, however, there is a marked difference between the two Christian Associations. In the YWCA, the proportion of "active" members runs over half in China and more than 80 per cent in Korea and India. This may be explained in large measure by the relatively small total memberships involved, and by the comparative absence of elaborate equipment serving to attract privilege users in great numbers. The fact that women offer greater resistance than men to efforts to bring them outside the precincts of the home is also an element in the situation.

ANALYSIS OF MEMBERSHIP

Since very few Associations sent in their analyses separately for the two major types of members, it will be necessary to consider the group as a whole in order to appreciate what sort of people are attracted to the organizations. Inasmuch as different systems of classification obtained in many of the Associations studied, and since the individual reports are not always explicit concerning the groups included in their tabulations, it was not possible to draw up accurate tables showing the situation as a whole. An effort was made, however, to approximate comparability, especially as between certain groups of Associations, with reasonably acceptable results. While the analyses obtained in Latin America, Europe and the Near East represent the major

portion of the several memberships, the reports, generally speaking, from so-called "mission lands" represent barely half of the whole. This limitation is especially apparent in the YMCA figures for these countries, where the total memberships are considerably larger than elsewhere. The sampling was carefully made by the national surveys, however, and represents the total picture for the centers selected for study. The desire was manifest to include for this purpose local Associations of various types and in widely separated parts of the several countries. In examining the figures submitted, therefore, it should be borne in mind that in no case are totals presented from a given movement; comparison as to size between movements is therefore quite impossible. On the other hand, since the samplings were regarded as indicative of the total picture, comparison of movements on the basis of percentages is not unfair. It should further be added that completeness was not attained under all heads of information specified; the figures from the YMCA were, on the whole, more satisfactory than those from the YWCA. This circumstance will of course be taken into consideration as the material is discussed. All things considered, it is felt that the information presented in the following tables is sufficiently accurate and comprehensive to yield a picture of the membership situation in its larger outlines. The data with regard to religious affiliation are the best available and for Associations calling themselves Christian are of considerable importance. The first series of tables, therefore, deals with this item.

In Table VI the members of the Czech church, in Czechoslovakia, were included among the Catholics; they were 629 in all, or 12 per cent of the total, thus leaving 51 per cent to account for the Roman Catholics proper. The figures for the Brazil YWCA represent only the members recently admitted, but the approximation to the picture for Argentina suggests that they probably reflect the total situation fairly well. Similar information was not forthcoming about the membership of either Association in Uruguay or the Philippines, nor for the YWCA in Mexico; superficial observation, however, indicates that the situation in these instances is probably not essentially different from that

TABLE V—RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION OF REPRESENTATIVE PORTIONS OF YMCA AND YWCA MEMBERSHIP ABROAD—
IN NON-CHRISTIAN COUNTRIES.

AREA	CHRISTIAN				NON-CHRISTIAN				TOTAL			
	YMCA		YWCA		YMCA		YWCA		YMCA		YWCA	
	No.	Per Cent of Total	No.	Per Cent of Total	No.	Per Cent of Total	No.	Per Cent of Total	No.	Per Cent of Total	No.	Per Cent of Total
China	1,841	12	2,250	51	15,069	88	2,140	49	16,910	100	4,390	100
Egypt	894	73	..	..	329	27	..	..	1,223	100	..	..
India, Burma, Ceylon...	2,492	44	2,798	83	3,135	56	580	17	5,627	100	3,378	100
Japan *	1,625	27	..	..	5,909	73	..	..	7,534	100	..	..
Korea	197	11	167	81	1,528	89	40	19	1,725	100	207	100
Turkey †	280	45	405	66	338	55	208	34	618	100	613	100
Total	7,329	22	5,620	65	26,308	78	2,968	35	33,637	100	8,588	100

* The Japan YWCA reported 2,149 members from seven city Associations but did not furnish any detailed information concerning them.

† It should be noted that the YWCA has, strictly speaking, no membership in Turkey, since in order to comply with the law, the organizations in that country in which the YWCA is cooperating are working under a school permit and are known as "service centers."

TABLE VI—RELIGIOUS AFFILIATIONS OF REPRESENTATIVE PORTIONS OF YMCA AND YWCA MEMBERSHIP ABROAD
—IN COUNTRIES PREDOMINANTLY ROMAN CATHOLIC.

AREA	PROTESTANT				CATHOLIC				OTHER				TOTAL			
	YMCA		YWCA		YMCA		YWCA		YMCA		YWCA		YMCA		YWCA	
	No.	Per Cent of Total	No.	Per Cent of Total	No.	Per Cent of Total	No.	Per Cent of Total	No.	Per Cent of Total	No.	Per Cent of Total	No.	Per Cent of Total	No.	Per Cent of Total
Argentina	626	16	294	40	2,290	60	426	59	930	24	9	1	3,846	100	729	100
Brazil	269	17	38	45	988	62	46	55	324	21	..	..	1,581	100	84	100
Czechoslovakia ..	1,008	18	..	..	3,443	63	..	..	1,033	19	..	..	5,484	100	..	..
Italy	150	11	..	..	1,020	78	..	..	140	11	..	..	1,310	100	..	..
Mexico	232	6	..	..	3,607	85	..	..	380	9	..	..	4,219	100	..	..
Peru	32	13	..	..	189	77	..	..	24	10	..	..	245	100	..	..
Portugal	257	22	..	..	148	12	..	..	788	66	..	..	1,193	100	..	..
Poland	570	15	..	..	2,914	84	..	..	15	1	..	..	3,499	100	..	..
Total	3,144	15	332	41	14,599	68	472	58	3,634	17	9	1	21,377	100	813	100

TABLE VII—RELIGIOUS AFFILIATIONS OF REPRESENTATIVE PORTIONS OF YMCA MEMBERSHIP ABROAD—IN COUNTRIES PREDOMINANTLY EASTERN ORTHODOX.

AREA	PROTESTANT		ORTHODOX		OTHER *		TOTAL	
	No.	Per Cent of Total	No.	Per Cent of Total	No.	Per Cent of Total	No.	Per Cent of Total
Bulgaria	26	5.6	438	92.7	8	1.7	472	100
Greece	2	.5	467	99.0	2	.5	471	100
Roumania	3	.8	345	95.8	12	3.4	360	100
Total	31	2.4	1,250	95.9	22	1.7	1,303	100

* Includes Roman Catholics and Jews.

TABLE VIII—RELIGIOUS AFFILIATIONS OF REPRESENTATIVE PORTIONS OF YMCA AND YWCA MEMBERSHIP ABROAD—IN COUNTRIES PREDOMINANTLY LUTHERAN.

AREA	PROTESTANT			ORTHODOX			OTHER *			TOTAL		
	YMCA		YWCA	YMCA		YWCA	YMCA		YWCA	YMCA		YWCA
	No.	Per Cent of Total	No.	No.	Per Cent of Total	No.	No.	Per Cent of Total	No.	No.	Per Cent of Total	No.
Estonia	1,447	79.0	1,173	84.0	139	8.0	191	14.0	238	1,824	100	1,393
Latvia	718	74.0	368	79.0	212	22.0	83	18.0	37	967	100	463
Total	2,165	77.6	1,541	83.0	351	12.6	274	14.8	275	2,791	100	1,856

* Includes Roman Catholics and Jews.

here presented for the other Latin American countries. Those listed above under the column marked "Other" are largely of Roman Catholic origin but prefer to call themselves "freethinkers" or "liberals." Members designated as "Christians," likewise of Roman Catholic origin, are listed with the professing Catholics.

It will be seen that the Protestant element in the membership of both Christian Associations in the several countries is not dominant. The "Christian" group in Table V is exclusively Protestant; moreover, to all intents and purposes it is evangelical, except in Egypt and Turkey, where these branches of organized Christianity are hardly represented at all in the Associations and where the rather high proportions of Christians consist of members of various Eastern churches. It will be seen that the YWCA in non-Christian and Catholic countries draws much more heavily than does the YMCA on the Protestant element in the community. Both organizations follow essentially the same pattern, however, in Orthodox and Lutheran countries—for that both Christian Associations in Greece are overwhelmingly of the Greek Orthodox faith is abundantly clear from the national survey report, even without substantiating figures. The tables bear out the suggestion based on the preceding discussion of membership bases, to the effect that neither Foreign Division feels itself bound to evangelical Protestantism as such. The tables indicate further that local movements take on the religious color of their environments to a very marked degree; the Protestants in the Baltic States are, of course, members of local Lutheran churches. Exceptions are India, Egypt, Turkey, and Syria, all countries into which western civilization has deeply penetrated in one way or another. The bulk of the work in these lands is in cosmopolitan cities controlled in large part commercially, if not politically, from Europe, where selective factors maintain in the membership a higher proportion of Christians over adherents of the indigenous religions than is reflected in the population as a whole.

With regard to age, the subdivisions employed by the national surveys were so diverse that no composite tables can be compiled. It is clear, however, that for the YMCA the largest single age group is the decade of the twenties (sometimes including

eighteen and nineteen years), the proportion varying roughly from a third to over a half of the total membership. Exceptions are Bulgaria, with 73 per cent under twenty years of age; Esthonia, with 53 per cent under twenty-one; Roumania, with 63 per cent under eighteen; Turkey, with 64 per cent under twenty; all with unusually high proportions of junior memberships; and, on the other side of the picture, Korea, with 90 per cent listed as over twenty-five years of age. The conclusion seems justified that fairly young men really constitute the major portion of the total membership. Information on this subject from the YWCA was too limited and inconclusive to warrant any generalization.

Data concerning the occupations of the members came through in various ways from the several YMCAs. But statistics and verbal descriptions alike indicate that the bulk of the members—two-thirds in non-Christian and three-quarters or more in Roman Catholic countries—are commercial and government employees or students. It should be emphasized, of course, that these are all in city Associations and not in the regular student organizations in the several countries. With the exception of those in India, where the hostels cater to young men in higher education, these students are very largely schoolboys attending high schools and *gymnasias*. The employees outnumber the students two or three to one, except in Turkey and Bulgaria, where the large junior memberships have already been mentioned. There are, however, a few notable variants from the general type. In Poland and Roumania, for instance, the students are still one of the dominant groups, and the employees have been replaced by industrial workers and artisans of various types. In the former country there is an Association carried on especially for this class, located at Lodz, and there is every reason to regard the members of it as an integral part of the Polish membership. In Roumania, however, the artisans are boys (*i.e.*, apprentices) and there appears to be little prospect of assimilating them to the regular membership as they grow up. In a sense they are extension members. The same thing can be said of Esthonia, Greece and Portugal, where the YMCA is trying to serve industrial workers in greater proportion than is generally true. In these

countries, however, there are adults as well as children among the industrial members; at the factory branch in Tallinn, in fact, it is quite a family affair, with men and women in almost equal numbers, and children as well as their parents. Korea presents still another variant in that it draws heavily on the professional class—72 per cent of the Seoul membership are listed under this head. While the membership returns from oriental countries may be regarded as good indications of the situation in the local movements, in spite of their fairly limited extent, it should be borne in mind that the rural work of India and Korea comes under the head of extension and is not reflected at all in the above data.

Comparison with Association memberships in North America would be interesting at this point. There is, as yet, unfortunately, no complete study of the American Christian Associations as a whole, but the conclusion from twelve recent surveys of YMCAs in widely separated parts of the country and including metropolitan centers as well as organizations in small cities and towns, is that the membership is drawn primarily from the lower ranks of the business world. On the whole, the conclusion seems clear enough that those YMCAs abroad that have derived their main support and inspiration from North America, likewise tend to approximate conditions on that continent. It appears to be essentially the respectable lower bourgeoisie, and especially the commercial element of it—neither the struggling poor nor the very well-to-do—that find the services of the YMCA most congenial. But a striking difference between this class in North America and its counterpart abroad, particularly in European and Latin American countries, is the very much greater cultural background of the latter. It seems safe to say that young men in business and government employ abroad are much more genuinely and naturally interested in philosophical or artistic pursuits than is true of their fellows in North America. The Americans, on the other hand, have a much more pronounced love of physical activity as a means of recreation. These are differences that should not be lost sight of in the essential similarity of the two groups.

Turning to the YWCA, information on this subject was found

to be more complete and more uniform than for the men. The following table is therefore presented to convey the total picture at a glance.

TABLE IX—OCCUPATIONS OF YWCA MEMBERSHIP ABROAD.

AREA	AT HOME		EMPLOYED		STUDENTS		TOTAL	
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
Non-Christian Countries								
China	2,000	46	975	22	1,415	32	4,390	100
India, Burma and Ceylon	101	14	402	60	181	26	684	100
Korea	125	60	82	40	..	..	207	100
Turkey *	482	77	79	13	65	10	626	100
Roman Catholic Countries								
Argentina	214	27	406	52	169	21	789	100
Brazil	33	36	38	42	20	22	91	100
Mexico	171	27	394	63	63	10	628	100
Lutheran Countries								
Esthonia	195	18	596	57	262	25	1,053	100
Latvia	116	28	126	31	171	41	413	100
Total	3,437	39	3,098	35	2,346	26	8,881	100

* See footnote, Table V.

Verbal description or, in some cases, further statistical subdivision indicates that the employed members are largely clerical workers and teachers. In other words, they belong to much the same class as do most of the men, but presumably on a rather lower economic level. It will be seen that, with the notable exception of India, the "at home" group predominates in non-Christian countries, and the employed group in Latin America. This latter finding is not borne out, however, by the report from Uruguay, which describes the local situation as follows:

The majority of the members come from the better-off class. Women of leisure predominate, though there is also a small proportion of employees and professors.

The figures for Esthonia and Latvia approximate conditions in the second group of countries shown in the table more than those in the first, and probably resemble each other more closely in actual fact than they do on paper. There is a group of some 250 "club" members in Latvia, only half of whom are estimated

to be included in the above figures. The rest resemble the regular members in type and therefore would not alter the total picture except on the score of age and occupation. In all likelihood the proportions assigned above to the "employed" group and the "students" should be reversed. The total picture rather definitely suggests two characteristic patterns for the YWCA membership, with a strong tendency for similar types to be developed in countries of similar religious tradition. It will be seen that the home group leads in those countries where the teaching of the dominant religions has not been conducive to the development of independence among women. Nevertheless, it is also quite clear from the total evidence that the YWCA definitely has a stake among women of leisure as well as among those seeking to earn their living.

As far as nationality is concerned, the generalization holds for both Christian Associations that the overwhelming majority of members are nationals of the country in which the work is being done. In nearly all cases the proportion is over 90 per cent. India presents an exception. There the latest figure for the entire YMCA is as of 1925 and gives 84 per cent as the proportion of Indians. Figures for successive years since 1891 indicate that this is the result of a definite trend away from an originally dominant Anglo-Indian and European membership, a trend which has been in evidence particularly since the World War and which probably has not yet run its course. The YWCA in that country shows a similar, but less pronounced trend; it represents, in fact, the most outstanding exception to the general rule noted above. The survey figures give 41 per cent as the Indian membership, 37 per cent as the Anglo-Indian, and 22 per cent as the European membership. In Egypt, the portion of the membership here under consideration represents the work in Alexandria, the city work in Assiut, and the central branch in Cairo, and is predominantly Egyptian and Sudanese. There is another branch in Cairo, sponsored from Great Britain, which caters to the European population.

An interesting fact is disclosed when the memberships of the

two Associations in Turkey are examined in greater detail.⁶ While the majority (74 per cent in the YMCA and 83 per cent in the YWCA) are Turkish citizens, the national derivation reveals a racial mixture very characteristic of the cosmopolitan city of Istanbul. Moreover, both Associations carry on work in the Pera section, where the main nationalities mingle in more nearly equal numbers than is very often the case in either movement. The figures for the total situation in Turkey follow.

	YMCA		YWCA	
	<i>No.</i>	<i>Per Cent</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Per Cent</i>
Turks	134	22	130	21
Greeks	169	27	207	33
Armenians	60	10	158	25
Jews	187	30	58	9
Others	69	11	73	12
Total.....	619	100	626	100

While it is not unusual for a dozen nationalities or more to be represented in a given Association, in any of the countries surveyed, especially in the larger cities, they seldom total as much as 10 per cent of the entire membership.

The problem of minorities has been faced courageously by both Associations in the Baltics and by the YMCA in Czechoslovakia. This is less true in Esthonia than in the other cases cited; there, indeed, the YMCA conforms to the standard pattern with an Esthonian membership of 90 per cent. The proportion for the YWCA is 80 per cent, with Germans and Russians represented to the extent of 10 per cent and 8 per cent, respectively. In Latvia, two-thirds of the membership in each Association are Latvians and about a fifth are Russians. There are, however, twice as many Germans proportionately in the women's organization. In Czechoslovakia the proportion of Czechs and Slovaks in the total membership is 73 per cent, of Germans 19 per cent, of Hungarians 7 per cent. Various others make up the remaining 1 per cent. There are large groups of Germans in Brno, Znojmo, and especially in Liberec, while the

⁶ See footnote, Table V, p. 80.

Hungarians are most in evidence in Lucenec. More will be said on the minority problem and its implications in other chapters of this report.

While each of the Christian Associations has developed and, in the main, strongly emphasized work for one sex, there are nevertheless some indications that the procedure is not wholly satisfactory. The problem crops up all over the world and is encountered more often than anywhere else in the general community and among the financial supporters of the organizations. Pressure frequently comes also from would-be participants in the program, and in the nature of the case, since the YWCA is usually not in a position to offer women facilities equal to those offered by the YMCA to men, occurs predominantly among women. Concessions to this pressure are to be found in Esthonia, where there are as many women as men in the factory branch of the Tallinn YMCA, and in Italy and Poland, where women have access at stated times to the physical privileges of the Turin and Krakow YMCAs, respectively. In this same category belong the children's classes conducted by the Esthonian, Latvian and Syrian YWCAs, which admit little boys as well as little girls. But there is also evidence that in at least two national movements of the YMCA, those in China and Czechoslovakia, there is some concern as to the educational soundness of the regular procedure and also some feeling that sex segregation represents a violation of national custom. In the latter country there are 397 women, or 7.25 per cent of the total, in the regular membership, exclusive of the student organizations where men and women have always enjoyed equal rights. How many of the 397 are "active" is not stated in the report, but according to the constitution adopted in 1929 women are as eligible as men to such membership. This is the only instance encountered of constitutional action of this sort. In China, the YMCA asked the general secretaries of the thirteen centers selected for study to report on the feeling of their boards and staffs concerning the admission of women as members. Significantly enough, no real disapproval was expressed in spite of a marked hesitancy to favor such action without qualification, and two centers reported

that they were already receiving women as participants. A questionnaire to members asking whether or not opportunity for social contact with women was desired was answered unqualifiedly in the affirmative. The survey report from the China YMCA comments as follows on the situation:

The attitude of the staffs and the directors indicates that the two Associations will have to meet the problem of women members, and all the problems connected therewith. It is a social phenomenon that we cannot avoid, as one secretary states.

That the same problem is felt elsewhere is indicated by the Japan report. The survey in that country asked the lay leaders and employed staff whether or not they favored admitting women into the YMCA, and received 118 replies from the first group and 66 from the second. While the answers were in the aggregate negative in the ratio of two to one, it is nevertheless perhaps significant that so many were in favor of such a step. The lay leaders represent the most conservative element in the Japan YMCA, and the employed staff probably the most liberal. Among the latter, opinion was almost equally divided, but those opposing still had a majority of 55 per cent.

Comparatively little information was forthcoming on membership duration from the YMCA, and practically none from the YWCA. The men's organizations in non-Christian countries all furnished material, however, on the distribution of the present membership by years in the Association. Roughly speaking, half their total present memberships had been taken out within the year, a third were of two to five years' standing, and the rest from five to ten years. The figures from Argentina and Brazil indicate a somewhat longer average period. Their memberships fall almost equally in the three groupings mentioned, and the last grouping extended beyond the ten-year period. It is not unlikely, however, that some "supporting" members, *i.e.*, financial contributors only, are included in these instances, which was not true of the former group. The annual turnover appears, then, to be rather high, a generalization borne out by the fact that both movements in practically all countries studied, except in Europe,

find it necessary to recruit new members annually by means of campaigns.

The survey in Japan made a more detailed study of membership than any other and has some light to throw on attendance. This survey received 771 replies from members of different Associations to a questionnaire on attendance at the Association building. Of these only 202, or 24 per cent, said they went "often," 403, or 52 per cent, said "seldom," and as many as 166, or 22 per cent, said "never." When asked for their reasons, 48 per cent said they were too busy, but 27 per cent quite frankly said they were not interested. Findings of this sort raise queries with regard to the steady annual increase in membership reported by the Japan YMCA since 1925. The same questionnaire disclosed a similar situation in the YWCA; the only group among the many subdivisions on the final tabulation that checked "frequently" more than "seldom" or "never," was that of the associate members, twenty-four years of age and under, who had been in the Association up to three years. While there is no way of gauging, from available materials, the degree to which this state of affairs is really typical of Japan as a whole or of the Associations as such, the possible implications can nevertheless not be lightly passed over in view of the demonstrated great similarity on major points obtaining among centers (especially those with large memberships) throughout the foreign field.

In addition to the regular city Associations, there are, of course, student organizations in most countries, usually related organically to the local city work, but sometimes, as for instance in India, independent of it. Information regarding the membership was, however, not procured to any significant extent. But there are two somewhat atypical groups, of interest to the North American YMCA, that have not been considered so far. These are the Russian *émigrés* in Paris, especially those represented in the Russian Student Christian Movement, and the work among Bantu students in the mission schools of South Africa. There are estimated to be about 60,000 Russians in Paris and, though of good family, the majority are working in factories, as taxi-drivers, in restaurants or in occupations of similar

grade. The RSCM, with assistance in money and personnel from North America, is sponsoring activities of Association type among the young people. There is a boys' department of 243 members and a girls' department of 120, as well as various young people's clubs totaling some three or four hundred members. These groups are composed entirely of young Russians in reduced financial circumstances, ardently bent on perpetuating Russian culture and especially earnest in their devotion to the Russian Orthodox Church. There are, of course, social activities of various sorts that draw in other members of the Russian community. These might perhaps be compared to the extension members of the other Associations. The work among Bantu is at present confined to teachers, and students in training to be such, at the mission schools of the Union of South Africa. The survey reports 1,676 such student members, representing 59 per cent of the total enrollment of their institutions, and 225 teachers working largely in isolated rural communities. The students are young people, comparable in intellectual development to American high school students. They are roughly in the late 'teens and early twenties, coming out of a poverty-stricken and primitive background, all adherents of the Christian religion, and dominated by the ideal of service to their fellows.

From the considerations presented thus far it will be clear that the similarities with regard to membership as between countries and as between the two movements, are far greater than are the differences. The latter are largely environmental in origin, as is suggested by the marked tendency for the two movements in a given country to resemble each other more than either resembles its fellow organization somewhere else. A striking example of this is furnished in the Baltics, where Esthonia and Latvia are adjacent countries but where national differences are clearly reflected in the membership of local Associations. Another source of difference is of course the relative development and material advancement of a given center. Large equipment carries with it inevitably large numbers that come for the available privileges and for no other reason. With marked unanimity the survey observers in all fields were impressed with the spirit of

the members in the smaller centers—for instance, Bulgaria, Roumania and Italy, in Europe, Peru in South America, and the little Associations in southern India. The two outstanding instances, as will have been gathered from the preceding pages, are furnished by the work in Paris for Russian *émigrés* and the work in South Africa. A certain amount of crisis psychology is present in all these cases, and others might be included; the movements in question are either fighting opposition, in the main of a pretty active sort, or are fired with missionary enthusiasm.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF MEMBERSHIP

Self-analysis by the Associations with regard to the significance of membership is frequently blurred by a lack of clarity as to the real nature of the problem. Too often the comparison is made between the large groups of so-called privilege buyers and the original leaders, such as those called together by George Williams or Henri Dunant, as if the former represented some sort of degeneration from the latter. It is not uncommon to find expressed, in the annual reports of a given center, regret over the circumstance that the act of joining the Association had so far lost its former significance. Various initiation ceremonies have been proposed, from time to time and in different places, to remedy the situation, but they have generally failed completely of their purpose. Such attempts have not taken into consideration the fact that there have been, always and everywhere, from the very beginning, two distinct reasons for joining. While most people have doubtless wanted to satisfy some personal requirement, more or less consciously felt, when they applied for membership, the founders also quite definitely wanted to extend the Kingdom of God among the youth of the community, while the "associate" members wanted to take advantage of the facilities. Originally, the distinction between "active" and "associate" membership was basic, and the real difference is reflected in the titles chosen to characterize them. The privilege of voting and holding office used to mean participation in the actual work of the organization. The very object in creating the "associate" membership, on the other hand, was to facilitate the process of evangelization. With the

change in educational viewpoint and the development of the four-fold program as a means of moral regeneration, it is clearer than ever that the essential membership has not been extended so much as that part of the "field of endeavor" has been drawn into the building. Furthermore, as the several movements expanded it inevitably came about that the number sufficiently in touch with the organization's problems to handle them intelligently, rapidly decreased in proportion to the whole. Consequently, the privilege of voting came to have less and less reality and to be less and less exercised. In fact, as described in Chapter I, the distinction between "active" and "associate" membership gradually disappeared as far as the majority were concerned, while the distinction between those who carry on the movements and those who benefit by their work is still as fundamental as it always was. While no sharp line need exist between the two groups and while, in a living movement, the second should constantly and naturally feed into the first, it is obvious that the meaning of membership and of Association fellowship cannot be the same in both instances.

It should also be pointed out that the device of signing a statement of purpose, while very congenial to persons who have grown up under Protestant traditions and to converts to Protestant Christianity in non-Christian countries, makes no appeal to non-Protestant Christian groups. The Orthodox in Greece understand it little better than the Catholics in Poland and in Latin America. Signing a pledge of religious faith is a distinctively Protestant performance. This fact has not been given due consideration by the Foreign Divisions in their concern over membership.

The problem of making membership significant for those participating in the program is essentially an educational one. Modern pedagogy lays great emphasis on responsibility as a means of character building and much can be accomplished, along these lines, through the self-governing clubs characteristic of both Association programs, especially among boys and girls. Another method of achieving the same result is to put members to work directly on some plan of social service, as is the case among the

Bantu students of South Africa. Moreover, there is no reason why a spirit of fellowship cannot be engendered among members of this type, analogous to the joyous comradeship developed among undergraduates in schools or colleges. Obviously, however, if the growth of the institution is artificially stimulated by high-pressure methods beyond the limits of natural assimilation, the odds must be against the development of any such spirit. The adequacy of the various activities at present sponsored by the two Christian Associations from this educational point of view, and the resulting vitality of the membership groups, will be discussed in Chapter IV, dealing with program.

As to the men and women who are directly responsible for the life and work of the Associations, that is to say the lay leaders and the employed staff, the quality of the fellowship uniting them is different. They are presumably participants in a continuous process, and actually involved in a movement of world-wide scope and spiritual aspiration, with an opportunity to initiate policies, plan their course over a period of years, and compare results with kindred movements in other countries. The reality of this fellowship, the nature of the ties that bind it together, and consequently the significance of the basis for "active" membership, can be discussed only after a careful inquiry into the sort of people that make up these groups. This will therefore be undertaken in the following chapter.

The material presented above raises important questions as to the validity of the theory of membership which prevails in both Associations and as to the consistency of theory and practice. These questions will be discussed in Chapter VII, on "The Philosophy of the Christian Associations."

CHAPTER III

LEADERSHIP IN THE CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATIONS

THE affairs of the Christian Associations abroad are carried on essentially by two groups of people: the lay leaders serving on boards and committees, and the foreign and national employed staff. Constitutionally, the first group is in charge of finances and matters of policy, while the second is entrusted with carrying out the program. In addition, there are groups of lay volunteers, drawn from the ranks of the ordinary membership, who in varying degrees take over responsibility for some aspects of the work. These volunteers represent the organic link between the membership at large and the administration. Through them the one group has a natural source of reenforcement from the other, and their services may be regarded as, potentially at least, an apprenticeship for permanent future service. It will be interesting to examine the characteristics of these various groups and to compare them one with another.¹

THE KIND OF PERSON ENGAGED IN ASSOCIATION WORK

As was seen to be true in the preceding chapter, the information from the Far East and India represents a liberal sampling, while that from the movements in Europe, the Near East and Latin America is very nearly complete. With regard to the foreign secretaries, data were secured for 507 of the men sent out by the North American YMCAs, practically the total number, and for the 294 women on the payroll of the YWCA of the United States, who either went abroad or returned home during the period 1919-1930. The special war workers were not included in either case.

¹ For the purposes of this study the term "lay leaders" is taken to designate men and women serving on local or national boards and committees. There is a certain amount of overlap between local and national leaders but it was possible to correct the figures for this in most cases.

In view of the Christian name and purpose of the two movements, and also in view of what was found to be true of the membership as a whole, one of the first questions to present itself is that of religious affiliation. In non-Christian countries, with the exception of Turkey, Egypt and Syria, it is true for both organizations that all lay leaders and employed officers are Protestants, while in other countries they tend in very marked degree to represent the dominant branch of Christianity. That is to say, in Orthodox countries all Association leaders, with rare exceptions, are members of the Orthodox churches, and in Esthonia and Latvia the great majority, roughly ninety per cent, are Lutherans. The remaining ten per cent are Russians and of the Orthodox faith. In Catholic countries the picture shows some variation. While the YMCA of Poland is almost exclusively Roman Catholic, the Protestant element is dominant in the Portuguese Associations, even aside from the conservative Protestant work in Oporto. In Italy and Czechoslovakia, on the other hand, the membership is to a considerable degree interconfessional. Of the 25 laymen serving on the several central committees in Italy (*i.e.*, boards of directors) before they were recently dissolved, 13 were Protestants and 12 were Catholics; and of the 15 Italian members of the employed staff, nine were Protestants and six were Catholics. The situation in Czechoslovakia appears in the following table:

TABLE X—DISTRIBUTION BY RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION OF MEMBERS OF YMCA CENTRAL COMMITTEES IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA.

RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION	MEMBERS OF CENTRAL COMMITTEES			
	Laymen	Staff	Both	
			No.	Per Cent of Total
Protestant	40	26	66	34
Roman Catholic	64	12	76	39
Czechoslovak Church	16	2	18	9
Without Confessional Affiliation.....	26	6	32	17
Jewish	2	..	2	1
Total.....	148	46	194	100

The relatively large group without any acknowledged church affiliation is noteworthy. A similar situation exists in Portugal, where, although the chief lay and employed officers are Protestant, as many as 20 out of the 38 men serving on the boards and committees designated themselves as "liberals" or "free-thinkers."² Such individuals are largely of Catholic antecedents.

The same type is to be found in the Latin American countries. Information on this score was not as complete from these latter movements as from those elsewhere, but it appears that while the leading lay and employed officers of both Christian Associations are largely Protestant, there are (especially in the YWCA) not a few professing Catholics among them, together with a considerable number who have no church affiliation. This latter deduction is reenforced by the fact that for a considerable proportion of lay leaders specific information under this head is missing: 13 per cent for the YWCA and 35 per cent for the YMCA. The omission is perhaps significant in the light of the fact that the YWCA of Montevideo definitely stated to the Uruguay survey commission that they had discontinued the practice of asking candidates for membership about their religious affiliation because "this occasioned objections."

To return to the non-Christian countries, it has been said that all officers in the Far East and India are Protestants. Many of these represent first generation Christians, especially in the Far East, and the older individuals among the lay leaders are frequently quite conservative in their theology. In this respect, accordingly, there exists a sharp difference in these countries between the administration and the bulk of the membership, which does not appear to be the case elsewhere. In the newer movements among non-Christians, on the other hand, the atmosphere is decidedly interreligious. While most of the Egyptian leadership is Christian, consisting of Protestants and Copts in nearly equal numbers together with a few members of the Roman Catholic and Orthodox faiths, there are nevertheless eleven Mos-

² The term "freethinker" as used by Latin peoples does not mean "atheist," as it commonly does in North America, but rather one who has freed himself from the doctrinal authority of the church. It might perhaps be more accurately rendered by some such term as "non-authoritarian believer."

lems among the 147 laymen for whom information on the point was secured. In Turkey, furthermore, the Moslem element is even more prominent. It must be observed, however, that the central boards of directors for the Association work in that country are almost exclusively Protestant and, in addition, that the work is regarded as distinctly a-typical. In fact, in the women's organization, it is looked upon as an extension or project of the YWCA rather than an Association proper. The actual figures for Turkey are given below:

	YMCA		YWCA (Service Centers)	
	Laymen	Staff	Volunteer	Staff
Protestant	10	..	17	1
Eastern and Orthodox	6	3	5	6
Roman Catholic	1	..	..	..
Moslem	13	7	5	5
Jewish	1	..	..	..
Total.....	31	10	27	12

As regards the North American secretaries, the overwhelming majority have always been Protestants of one of the more flourishing denominations, as may be seen from the following table.

TABLE XI—DISTRIBUTION BY DENOMINATIONAL PREFERENCE OF NORTH AMERICAN YMCA AND YWCA SECRETARIES ABROAD.

DENOMINATION	YMCA	YWCA	BOTH	
			No.	Per Cent of Total
Methodist	150	61	211	27.0
Presbyterian	129	74	203	26.0
Congregational	62	45	107	13.7
Baptist	63	42	105	13.4
Episcopal	26	28	54	6.9
Lutheran, Evangelical, Dutch Reformed .	32	13	45	5.7
Moravian, Friends, Disciples	26	6	32	4.1
Other	16	9	25	3.2
Total	504	278	782	100.0
No data	3	16	19	..
Grand Total	507	294	801	..

The considerations so far adduced bring out two main conclusions. In the first place it is clear that, with very rare exceptions, the real leadership in both Christian Associations is dominantly Protestant. The key people are usually of this religious persuasion, among laymen and employed staff alike, and practically the entire North American personnel comes under this head. On the other hand, there is also a marked tendency for each movement to take on the religious atmosphere of its particular environment. This is especially true in Orthodox countries, where the North Americans are almost the only individuals who do not belong to Orthodox churches. Evidence of a really interconfessional leadership appears only in Italy, Czechoslovakia, Egypt and Turkey.

Inasmuch as the lay leaders are giving only of their spare time to the Associations, perhaps the greatest single clew to the sort of people they are will be afforded by a consideration of their professional activities. The facts, so far as they are available, are first presented for the YMCA.

TABLE XII—OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF YMCA LAY LEADERS ABROAD.

OCCUPATIONAL DESCRIPTION	CHINA	INDIA	P. I. AND LATIN AMERICA	TURKEY AND EGYPT	CENTRAL AND NORTH EUROPE	BALKANS AND PORTU- GAL	ALL AREAS	
							No.	Per Cent of Total
Financiers, Business								
Heads	56	68	143	39	120	43	469	29
Government Officials ...	31	8	24	15	67	19	164	10
Liberal Professions* ...	30	179	62	31	55	39	396	25
Educators	56	..	22	30	83	20	211	13
Ministers, Religious								
Workers	22	46	4	14	11	6	103	6
Government and Com- mercial Employees ..	46	29	24	32	26	14	171	11
Students	11	..	7	17	3	11	49	4
Artisans	6	..	1	..	14	..	21	1
Other	2	13	1	..	..	..	16	1
Total	260	343	288	178	379	152	1,600	100

* This group includes lawyers, engineers, doctors and journalists. Educators and religious workers were separated from the others as being of special interest to readers of this report.

The most striking item in Table XII is the high proportion of men in the professional group, and especially in educational

work. These latter, together with the ministers and other religious workers (largely missionaries), were separated from the remaining liberal professions in order to make this fact clear. It was not possible, however, to separate out the educators in India, which undoubtedly accounts for the unusually large number of "professionals" in that country. The total number of professional men of all kinds, is 710, or 44 per cent of the entire group. Similar recent studies of board and committee members in two representative large metropolitan YMCAs in the United States, revealed that only a quarter were classified in the professional group and these consisted chiefly of lawyers and doctors with only a very few educators among them. The unusually high proportion of ministers and religious workers is, of course, easily accounted for by the missionary nature of the enterprise. In Latin American countries and the Philippines the situation more nearly approaches conditions in the United States; half the lay leaders are financiers or business proprietors while the law furnishes most of the professional group.

Comparable figures for the YWCA are available for the countries in Latin America, Europe and Turkey, and are shown in Table XIII.

TABLE XIII—OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF YWCA LAY LEADERS ABROAD.

OCCUPATION	LATIN AMERICA		TURKEY & EUROPE		TOTAL	
	No.	Per Cent of Total	No.	Per Cent of Total	No.	Per Cent of Total
Home Makers	114	68	119	39	233	49
Professional	42	25	34	11	76	16
Office Employees	7	4	142	46	149	31
Students	5	3	12	4	17	4
Total	168	100	307	100	475	100

According to the report of the China YWCA, 65 per cent of the lay leaders from eleven centers live at home, probably married, and the remaining 35 per cent are engaged in teaching or in business. The women in Latin America represent a higher cultural and social level, generally speaking, than is the case in

China or in Europe; there are many lawyers and physicians as well as educators among them, and relatively few in small business positions. Among the women of leisure, moreover, many take an active, intelligent interest in social welfare projects of various kinds. The table furthermore makes clear that, while the proportion between the women at home and those gainfully employed varies in different areas (and of course in different countries), the YWCA draws to its boards and committees, as in the case of its general membership, strongly from both groups. The facts clearly indicate that the two Christian Associations abroad have, to a remarkable extent, attracted lay leadership that is unusually well qualified to shape policies and enrich programs.

With regard to nationality, it must be said that the staff positions of major importance are in general still held by North American secretaries. To be sure, in the more firmly established movements, notably in China, Japan and, as far as the YMCA is concerned, in India, the leading positions on the employed staff are held by nationals. Moreover, it is true that in most countries the nationals on the staff easily outnumber the North Americans. A notable variation from this general rule is found in the YWCAs of South America, where, although the work was initiated ten years ago, the employed staff is still almost exclusively North American. In India the staff is more international than elsewhere owing to the presence in considerable numbers of secretaries sent by the overseas departments of Great Britain, Canada (YWCA), Australia and New Zealand. But the number supported locally still outnumbers the total staff sent from abroad. In the YMCA this is particularly true, and the local secretaries are predominantly Indian. However, in spite of these considerations, it has not as yet been feasible, except in the case of certain war and post-war projects, for either Foreign Division to withdraw its personnel entirely from any movement with which it has been cooperating.

On the other hand, the lay leadership of each of the several movements is predominantly of the nationality of the particular movement (in most cases over 80 per cent). Moreover, with the exception of the Associations in India, the YWCA service centers

in Turkey and the YMCA of Argentina, it is the indigenous population rather than a domiciled European or American population that constitutes this majority. In the Associations referred to, roughly half the lay leadership is of British or American citizenship. Unusually cosmopolitan is the group of YWCA lay leaders in Latin America, where 73 per cent are of local extraction, 9 per cent come from Great Britain, 7 per cent from the United States, and the remaining 11 per cent from different countries in Europe. In the Baltics, while the constitution guarantees representation on the boards for the minority groups, these people (Russians and Germans) do not make up quite 20 per cent of the entire lay leadership, except in the case of the Riga YWCA. In this Association the minority groups constitute as much as one-third of the total number. An interesting case is that of the YMCA in Czechoslovakia, where one of the dominant nationalities, the Slovak, is not as well represented as the minority population. This may be seen from the following table, which presents for comparison the figures for the lay and national employed staffs.

TABLE XIV—NATIONALITY OF YMCA LEADERS IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA.

NATIONALITY	LEADERS			
	Laymen	Staff	BOTH	
			No.	Per Cent of Total
Czech	119	36	155	80
Slovak	10	2	12	6
Hungarian	10	5	15	8
German	9	3	12	6
Total.....	148	46	194	100

In the matter of age distribution there is a trend upwards from the total membership through the employed staff to the lay leadership. The difference, however, is not as great as might perhaps be expected. In the YMCA the dominant age group for the whole membership was found to be the twenties with perhaps a tendency towards the earlier half of the decade. The cen-

tral tendency for the ages of the national employed staff ranges through the twenties and thirties, with the mean age for the several countries fluctuating around 30 years. On the whole, the employed staff is somewhat younger in Europe than elsewhere. The lay leaders, on the other hand, are predominantly in their thirties and forties. Comparable figures for the YWCA were available only for the national employed staff and they indicate much the same age range for this particular group. Data under this head, however, were not supplied by the YWCA of China where, there is reason to believe, the national secretaries as a group are somewhat younger. Turning to the North American secretaries, the mean age on first going abroad for the YWCA is just under 33 years, while the middle 50 per cent ranges from 28 to 36. Since, as will appear in greater detail in a subsequent table, the mean term of foreign service for this group is about five years, it will be clear that in most countries the North Americans are about the same age as the national secretaries, or only slightly older. Similar information for the YMCA was available in greater detail so that it is possible to trace the trend in this regard from the initiation of the work. This is done in Table XV.

TABLE XV—MEAN AGES OF YMCA FOREIGN DIVISION SECRETARIES ON ENTERING FIELD SERVICE, BY AREAS FOR FIVE-YEAR PERIODS.

AREA	MEAN AGES IN YEARS							Mean
	Prior to 1900	1900-1904	1905-1909	1910-1914	1915-1919	1920-1924	1925-1929	
China	29.4	30.0	28.2	29.3	28.6	34.0	37.0	30.2*
India, Burma, Ceylon.....	31.0	30.7	29.8	27.8	30.2	32.3	32.9	29.9†
Japan, Korea, Philippines ..	24.3	29.7	29.9	28.4	29.6	38.1	35.2	31.5†
Turkey and Europe .....	...	...	30.5	26.9	33.5	32.4	38.9	34.1
Carribean Area	25.0	30.4	27.4	25.6	28.4	32.6	36.0	25.8
South America	25.0	28.7	30.0	29.0	32.3	32.4	36.6	31.3
Africa and Near East.....	...	...	...	25.0	27.0	33.3	30.9	31.3
Mean.....	27.7	30.1	28.8*	28.3†	29.9	33.9	36.0‡	30.5‡

* No data available for 2 secretaries.

† No data available for 1 secretary.

‡ No data available for 4 secretaries.

In computing the mean ages by areas and five-year periods all individuals for those groups were used, consequently including

a small overlap. The grand mean, on the other hand, is derived simply for the 503 individuals for whom the data were available and represents the mean age for this number. The middle 50 per cent ranges from 26 to 33 years of age.

Data with regard to marital status are too fragmentary to be of much value, but such as they are, they indicate that, in the YMCA, lay leaders and North American and national staff members alike are for the most part married. In the YWCA, on the other hand, while the lay leaders are probably in the majority of cases married, the secretaries are nearly always single women. While each movement predominantly restricts its personnel, lay and professional alike, to members of one sex, it is not unheard of for "ladies' committees" to assist the YMCA, particularly in matters of hospitality or entertainment, or for prominent lawyers and business men to serve as trustees for the YWCA. Moreover, YMCA hostels and dormitories sometimes employ women as "house mothers." In Czechoslovakia, indeed, these have full secretarial rank, while three of the centers selected for study in China reported that they would "look forward to the use of women as secretaries in the next few years."

The differences among the various groups that constitute the entire membership of the two movements here under consideration, appear striking at relatively few but significant points. In the Far East and in the YMCA of India, Burma and Ceylon, there is a sharp difference in religious affiliation between the administration and the general membership; otherwise, however, the personnel, and particularly the lay portion of it, may be regarded as representing the upper stratum of the same economic and social class to which most of the general membership belongs, and into which most of the latter may normally be expected to develop. There is a marked difference, naturally, with regard to marital status between the lay and the professional leaders of the YWCA. And within both movements, the North Americans are set apart from their colleagues on the staff, their superiors on the boards and the general ranks of the membership, by a greatly different cultural heritage. Further differences, especially among the various subdivisions of the administration, will be more apparent

after the discussion which follows. Inasmuch as responsibility for carrying out the plans of the several Associations rests primarily with the employed staff, it will be advisable to look specifically into the problems of this group as such, before going into the questions involved in functions and relationships.

PERSONNEL PROBLEMS

Recruiting

The most natural and fertile source of recruitment for the Association secretaryship, in the various countries here being studied, is by all odds the educational field, and more especially the student element. The report of the China YMCA states that "about 70 per cent of our staff come directly from the schools as students or teachers, without any intervening form of experience." No information on this score is available from Japan, but the YMCAs in India and Korea report practically the same proportion, while the combined figures from Europe, Turkey and Latin America indicate a proportion of 61 per cent. In China, Argentina and India the secretaries who had been teachers outnumbered those who came from the student ranks, roughly two to one, but the ratio is reversed everywhere else. The presumption is strong, moreover, that most of these students recruited were members of student YMCAs and had had some experience as volunteer leaders. Comparable information from the YWCA was furnished only from the Baltic States. Of the 27 secretaries in these two countries, three had previously been students and nine had been teachers, indicating a situation not markedly different from what was found to be true in some of the YMCAs.

In North America the student Associations, and especially the Student Volunteer Movement, furnished most of the recruits for foreign service in the early period. But they usually served a few years in an Association at home before going abroad and this became increasingly true as time went on. This may be clearly seen, as far as the YMCA is concerned, from Table XVI. The special war workers, it will be remembered, have been omitted.

Although nearly 70 per cent of these secretaries had had some Association experience before going abroad, it is perhaps

TABLE XVI—PREVIOUS OCCUPATIONS OF YMCA FOREIGN DIVISION SECRETARIES, BY FIVE-YEAR PERIODS.

OCCUPATION	PRIOR TO 1900	1900- 1904	1905- 1909	1910- 1914	1915- 1919	1920- 1924	1925- 1929	ALL YEARS		
								Sub- Total	Total	
									No.	Per Cent of Total
Association Work									345*	69.4
0-5 years	7	18	27	50	62	42	22	228	..	..
6-10 years	2	2	6	17	22	16	21	86	..	..
11-20 years .....	..	2	5	4	13	18	8	50	..	..
Over 20 years ....	..	..	..	..	..	2	3	5	..	..
Study	1	4	12	21	6	2	4	50	50	10.1
Educational Work									36	7.3
General .....	..	2	4	10	7	6	3	32	..	..
Physical Education	..	..	..	..	3	1	..	4	..	..
Religious Work									27	5.4
Ministry .....	..	1	2	2	..	6	1	12	..	..
Missions	1	1	3	5	2	1	2	15	..	..
Business .....	..	1	5	5	2	5	1	19	19	3.8
Other .....	..	4	4	6	3	2	1	20	20	4.0
Total	11	35	68	120	120	101	66	521	497*	100.0
No Data	1	1	1	1	2	3	1	10	10	..
Grand Total ...	12	36	69	121	122	104	67	531	507*	..

* Deducting 24 for overlap.

surprising that not more of them had. While there was no way of distinguishing between "no data" and "no Association experience" on the personnel cards at headquarters in New York, the fact that 50 individuals went out directly from college in all likelihood precludes any such experience as far as they are concerned, except perhaps in a volunteer capacity. The relative youth of the great majority of the remaining 107, together with the fact that practically all indicated some sort of profession other than in the Association, makes it very probable that they had no previous experience in Association work. The mean term of service for the 344 who worked in the Association before going abroad is just over five and a half years, the middle 50 per cent ranging from two to seven years.

Practically the same thing appears to be true of the YWCA secretaries sent by the Foreign Division of the United States.

Of the 270 for whom this information was available, 74 (or 27.4 per cent) had had no professional experience in the Association before going abroad. The mean term for those who did have such experience is just under six years, the middle 50 per cent showing the same range as in the YMCA.

There is little evidence of any very definite recruiting procedure, either abroad or in North America. It appears to be more a matter of picking up the "right people" wherever they can be found. The two Foreign Divisions at the present time look for their recruits to a marked extent in the ranks of the home movement. The problem is greatly intensified for the movements abroad by the fact that social and welfare work as a profession is scarcely known in the countries concerned. As already indicated, the educational field and the ranks of the membership itself are looked to as the most likely sources of supply.

Preparation for the Work

In examining the qualifications which the employed staff brings to the work, the first item to be considered is that of general education. The facts are presented first for the nationals and the data, except for the YMCAs of Latin America, the YWCA of India and the service centers in Turkey, are almost complete.

TABLE XVII—EDUCATIONAL QUALIFICATIONS OF NATIONALS EMPLOYED ON YMCA AND YWCA STAFFS ABROAD.

EDUCATIONAL QUALIFICATIONS	NATIONALS ON STAFFS ABROAD			
	YMCA		YWCA	
	No.	Per Cent of Total	No.	Per Cent of Total
University or College Graduates.....	140	36	46	38
University or College Attendants.....	77	20	16	12
Middle and Special School Graduates..	127	33	60	49
Middle School Attendants.....	37	9	1	1
Common School Graduates.....	8	2	..	..
Total.....	389	100	123	100

The report on the India YWCA stresses the need of more training for its locally supported secretaries, which indicates that most of them have not had many educational advantages. The YWCA in Turkey, on the other hand, recruits largely from among the graduates of the Constantinople Woman's College. In Latin America, the YMCA apparently attracts to the secretaryship both highly cultured individuals and not a few younger men who have not had very much education.

While it is not easy to compare the educational systems of the several countries, it seems likely that the national secretaries in the several movements are roughly comparable to each other on the score of education. In the YMCA, the proportion of college graduates is higher in the Far East and India than in Europe and the Near East. However, the latter group shows a higher proportion of individuals with some college experience, and of secondary school graduates. The European *gymnasias* are, moreover, undoubtedly superior to the middle schools of the Orient, so that in the long run the difference between the two groups is not likely to be significant. In the YWCA the figures show little variation as between movements.

Turning to the North Americans, the following table presents the facts on their education when they first went abroad.

TABLE XVIII—EDUCATIONAL QUALIFICATIONS OF NORTH AMERICANS ON YMCA AND YWCA STAFFS ABROAD.

EDUCATIONAL QUALIFICATIONS	NORTH AMERICANS ON STAFFS ABROAD			
	YMCA		YWCA	
	No.	Per Cent of Total	No.	Per Cent of Total
College Graduate or Equivalent....	352	75.1	201	71.8
Some College Experience.....	67	14.3	23	8.2
Normal or Business School.....	19	4.0	39	13.9
High School or Equivalent.....	29	6.2	16	5.7
Grammar School	2	0.4	1	0.4
Total	469	100.0	280	100.0
No Data	38	..	14	..
Grand Total	507	..	294	..

Many of the college graduates, moreover, (28 per cent for the YMCA and 44 per cent for the YWCA) have taken further work and some of them higher degrees, either before going out or during furlough periods. The facts in greater detail are as follows:

	YMCA		YWCA	
	<i>No.</i>	<i>Per Cent</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Per Cent</i>
M.A. degrees	57	58.8	35	39.8
B.D., M.D. or Ph.D. degrees.....	24	24.8	7	8.0
1-4 years post-graduate study.....	12	12.3	26	29.5
"Attended courses"	4	4.1	20	22.7
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	97	100.0	88	100.0

Clearly the North Americans, as a group, represent a higher educational level than the national secretaries as a group. There are, however, a large number among the latter who have had the highest education available, and who, especially among the men in Europe and Latin America, undoubtedly are superior to the North Americans in this regard.

As to specifically Association training the information is not very satisfactory. In most countries both Associations hold annual conferences mainly for the purpose of training the staff. In addition, there are more or less regular conferences and conventions—by countries or regions—which serve to bring secretaries and lay leaders together for exchange of ideas and for mutual inspiration. Organized technical training schools for the secretaryship have, on the whole, not been conspicuously successful. Financial pressure and political conditions have operated against such ventures, but there is also some question regarding the methods used. This problem will receive further attention in a later section of this chapter. The lack of adequate training for the staff is deplored in the reports on both Associations in China and on the Indian YWCA. Of the 55 Indian secretaries in the YMCA, on the other hand, two-thirds have had special training either in the United States or in India. About half the national staff in the YMCAs of Latin America have attended the various branches of the Instituto Tecnico. Information from Europe is more detailed. In the YMCAs of that continent the situation is as follows:

ASSOCIATION LEADERSHIP

III

	<i>No.</i>	<i>Per Cent of Total</i>
Summer schools, conferences, etc.	102	72
Geneva institutes or college.....	15	11
Springfield or Chicago.....	9	6
No Association training.....	16	11
	<hr/>	<hr/>
Totals.....	142	100
No data	6	

Of the 27 national secretaries in the Baltic YWCAs, 21 have attended summer schools and conferences of various kinds and two have studied at the training school in New York. It was not possible to ascertain how often secretaries in any given Association attended conferences of whatever kind, but it appears that most of the European staff of both movements have had some professional training beyond the annual staff meeting and the daily learning "on the job." Relatively few have had anything more, however, than is to be acquired from intensive courses of two or three weeks' duration.

Of the North American secretaries roughly half (43 per cent for the YMCA and 51 per cent for the YWCA), had had no specifically Association training before going to the field, while rather more than a quarter of them (27 per cent in both cases), were graduates of Springfield or Chicago (YMCA), or had certificates from the training school of the National Board of the YWCA in the United States. Furloughs have generally been used by both groups, at least partially, for further study. While it is more than likely that attendance at conferences and summer schools is not always properly recorded on the personnel cards and sheets at headquarters, it is nevertheless noteworthy that the records show an absence of both Association training and Association experience before going abroad in the cases of 111 YMCA secretaries (22 per cent of the total), and of 46 YWCA secretaries (16 per cent). It must be remembered, of course, that many leaders consider graduate training outside the Associations preferable. The Foreign Division of the YWCA has latterly been encouraging it as a matter of policy.

Turnover

Adequate figures for studying staff turnover are not available, but some indication of the situation may be derived from studying the length of time the present staff has been in service. The data are first presented for the national secretaries, grouped by areas, in such a way as to indicate the total range, the central tendency (for the YMCA), and the mean, all to the nearest year. The figures for Czechoslovakia were not included with the rest of the European area, in the table for the YMCA, because there are considerably more secretaries in that country than

TABLE XIX.—LENGTH OF SERVICE OF YMCA NATIONAL EMPLOYED STAFF SERVING ONE YEAR OR MORE.

AREA	LENGTH OF SERVICE IN YEARS				
	Shortest Period of Service	First * Quartile	Median *	Third * Quartile	Longest Period of Service
India	1	11	13	16	25
Japan	1	5	8	9	40
Europe and Turkey	1	2	5	8	11
Czechoslovakia	1	4	7	10	11
Latin America	1	4	9	16	23

* The *median* is the value of the middle item when data are arrayed according to magnitude (if the number of items is odd; it is approximately the average of the two middle items, if their number is even).

The *first quartile* is the value which is exceeded by $\frac{3}{4}$ of the values arrayed and of which $\frac{1}{4}$ fall short.

The *third quartile* is the value which is exceeded by $\frac{1}{4}$ of the values arrayed and of which $\frac{3}{4}$ fall short.

elsewhere, nineteen of whom started in the post-war period of development. The figures for Latin America, in the same table, represent the facts only for Buenos Aires, Rio de Janeiro, Mexico City and Valparaiso. Otherwise, both tables are practically complete. Since the China YMCA furnished this information only for secretaries who had left the Association, these data will be considered later. The YWCA in China provided information for a similar group as well as for the present staff; both sets of data are therefore presented for purposes of comparison.

Inasmuch as the work in Europe and Latin America received its most enthusiastic promotion only after the World War, it will

TABLE XX—LENGTH OF SERVICE OF YWCA NATIONAL EMPLOYED STAFF SERVING ONE YEAR OR MORE.

AREA	LENGTH OF SERVICE IN YEARS		
	Shortest	Median *	Longest
China (Ex-Secretaries)	I	3	13
China (Present Staff)	I	3	12
Japan	I	5	14
Europe and Latin America	I	5	19

* See footnote Table XIX.

be seen that the situation appears to be quite satisfactory in these areas, for both Associations. In Japan, the mean period of service seems somewhat low considering the fact that there has been an attempt to build up a national secretariat in both Associations for some 25 to 30 years. What the situation is for the Indian YWCA, in this regard, cannot be ascertained from the report since the personnel figures do not distinguish between locally and foreign supported secretaries. (The total staff numbers only 49 individuals.) In the India YMCA, however, while there is a creditable mean term of service, it is also true that younger men are not being attracted to the secretaryship. As will be seen from the table, the term for the lower quartile is exceptionally high. Indeed, three-quarters of the present Indian staff have been in service over ten years. Details on the situation in Korea were not provided, but the survey report gives the mean term of service for nationals in the YMCA as just under eight years.

In the China YMCA the median term of service for 87 secretaries who have left the Association is just over four years, the central tendency ranging from two to eight years. However, as many as 13 individuals had served over ten years. Furthermore, when it is realized that educational and physical directors have left in the greatest numbers—even more than business secretaries—and that the 13 study centers report a loss of five general and four associate general secretaries, it becomes apparent that the YMCA has been losing not a few of its trained leaders. The situation in the YWCA of that country appears to be really seri-

ous; the turnover is far too high for any healthy organization. Rather striking is the fact that there is practically no difference in the figures for the secretaries who have left the work and those on the present staff. Whether the same thing would be true in the YMCA is of course a question, but it is a little disturbing to find in the China report the comment that the median service is "not short," in view particularly of the upset political and financial conditions. Interviews with leading nationals and foreigners on the present staff suggest that the turnover is causing them uneasiness. Since the personnel problem appears to be more acute in China than anywhere else, for both Associations, it will be interesting to study the matter there more in detail. The following tabulation presents the reasons assigned by the YMCA centers included in the study for the loss of 75 men:

	<i>No.</i>	<i>Per Cent of Total</i>
Maladjustment	24	32
Insufficient salary	20	27
Called to other positions.....	10	13
Further study	9	12
Staff retrenchment	6	8
Miscellaneous	6	8
	—	—
Total.....	75	100

Sixty-one of these men are now distributed as follows:

	<i>No.</i>	<i>Per Cent of Total</i>
Teachers	17	28
Public service	14	23
Business managers	14	23
Commercial employees	7	12
Liberal professions	5	8
Studying	2	3
Unemployed	2	3
	—	—
Total.....	61	100

These facts, together with the consideration of the type of secretary that has been leaving the work, clearly indicate, in the words of the China report, that "most of these are men whose loss could be ill-afforded."

The YWCA of China gave the reasons why 111 secretaries left the work, as follows:

	<i>No.</i>	<i>Per Cent of Total</i>
Other Work	33	29.8
Temporarily employed	5	4.5
Further study	20	18.0
Marriage	28	25.2
Maladjustment	18	16.2
Health reasons	7	6.3
	<hr/> 111	<hr/> 100.0

It will be seen that many secretaries leave in order to marry and the YWCA frequently emphasizes this fact. More significant, however, is the circumstance that, in over half the cases studied, the secretaryship was not found to be satisfactory as a life career. The same thing is true in the YMCA, where the identical proportion of individuals (52 per cent), left for other work (chiefly for financial reasons), or for further study.

Turning to the North American secretaries, the data for the staff as of January 1, 1930, are presented first in the same arrangement as that used for the national employed staff.

TABLE XXI—LENGTH OF SERVICE OF PRESENT FIELD STAFF OF YMCA AND YWCA FOREIGN DIVISIONS.

AREA	LENGTH OF SERVICE IN YEARS				
	Shortest Period of Service	First * Quartile	Median *	Third * Quartile	Longest Period of Service
YMCA					
China	1	10	15	20	34
India and Far East	1	5	10	14	27
Europe and Near East...	1	4	8	10	19
Latin America	1	8	12	17	29
YWCA					
China	1	5	8	12	18
All others	1	3	5	7	19

* See footnote Table XIX.

Comparison with the preceding tables for the national secretaries indicates that the North Americans have, in the majority

of cases, been active some three or four years longer than their colleagues. Since, however, these calculations represent the length of time the individuals concerned were carried on the Foreign Division payrolls, and thus include furlough time and time used in travel to and from the field, the actual period of field service for the two sets of employed secretaries is probably roughly equal. Any difference must indeed be very slight except in the case of China. Comparable figures for the two groups are available only for the YWCA, and it will be seen that the North American mean term is nearly three times as long as that of the Chinese secretaries. There is reason to suppose that matters may not be very different in the YMCA. In Europe and Latin America the majority of the present staff have been in service nearly as long as the work has been in progress.

It will be of interest to compare the figures for the present field staff with those for such North American secretaries as have completed their service abroad.

TABLE XXII—MEAN TERM OF FIELD SERVICE IN YEARS OF FOREIGN DIVISION SECRETARIES.

AREA	YMCA		YWCA	
	Returned	On Field	Returned	On Field
China	7.7	14.9	6.5	8.0
India, Burma and Ceylon	5.3	11.0	6.5	6.6
Japan, Korea, Philippines.....	3.9	9.9	3.6	6.4
Turkey and Europe.....	6.2	8.4	2.8	4.0
Carribean Area	4.0	8.4	..	..
South America	6.6	13.7	6.5	4.7
Africa and Near East.....	3.7	6.9	..	..
Mean—All Areas	6.5	11.4	4.9	6.2
Middle 50 per cent.....	2-9	5-16	2-7	3-9

Because of the greatly longer period of service to date of the active staff as compared with returned secretaries, the conclusion is suggested that, while many individuals go out for short terms, there are also quite a few who stay for the best years of their working life. This is distinctly more true of the YMCA

than of the YWCA, as may be further seen from the following distribution of the present staff by outgoing dates.

	YMCA		YWCA	
	No.	Per Cent of Total	No.	Per Cent of Total
Prior to 1909	24	14	..	..
1910-1919	66	38	22	25
1920-1929	85	48	65	75
Totals.....	175	100	87	100

It is possible, from available records, to compute the exact turnover of the YMCA Foreign Division field secretariat. This is done in the next table for China, India, Japan, Korea and the Philippines, the countries in which the organization has been longest at work.

TABLE XXIII—TURNOVER OF YMCA FOREIGN DIVISION FIELD STAFF IN THE FAR EAST AND INDIA, BY FIVE-YEAR PERIODS.

FIVE-YEAR PERIODS	DIFFERENT INDIVIDUALS	ADDITIONS *		SUBTRACTIONS †	
		No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
Prior to 1899.....	10	10	100	..	..
1900-1904	38	28	74	2	5
1905-1909	81	45	55	16	20
1910-1914	157	92	59	29	19
1915-1919	216	88	41	46	21
1920-1924	214	44	21	60	28
1925-1929	189	35	19	76	40

* Total number of new individuals on the staff during each five-year period.

† Total number of individuals on the staff during the preceding five-year period who did not return.

It will be seen that through the period 1910-1914, the additions to the staff roughly trebled the subtractions. During the war years the additions still considerably outnumbered the subtractions, the proportion then being two to one, while after this period the relationship was reversed and attained during 1925-1929 the same proportion in the opposite direction. The war and post-war activities of the North American YMCAs introduced new factors into the scheme of things and diverted energy into new channels. There has been a further unnaturally accelerated reduction of staff, in recent years, owing to financial pressure.

Before the war period, however, along with the large increase in staff, a trend had set in toward shorter terms, as may be seen from the following analysis. The calculation is based on all but one of the 507 personnel records at headquarters.

TABLE XXIV—AVERAGE TERM OF FIELD SERVICE IN YEARS OF YMCA FOREIGN DIVISION SECRETARIES BY OUTGOING DATES IN FIVE-YEAR PERIODS.

AREA	PRIOR TO 1900	1900- 1904	1905- 1909	1910- 1914	1915- 1919	1920- 1924	1925- 1929	MEAN ALL YEARS
China	19	18	14	10	9	5	2	10
India, Burma, Ceylon...	15	10	6	9	9	7	2	8
Japan, Korea, P. I.	12	11	10	7	7	6	2	7
Turkey and Europe.....	..	..	12	12	10	7	3	7
Caribbean Area	25	12	4	3	5	3	3	5
South America	25	27	10	9	12	5	3	9
Africa and Near East...	..	..	..	7	11	7	2	5
Mean—All Areas	18	14	9	9	8	6	2	8

That the same tendency is perhaps even more marked in the YWCA is clear from policy developments, although exact figures cannot be adduced to confirm it.

Before leaving the subject of turnover, it would be significant to compare the length of service of the lay leaders, in the several movements, with what has been found true for the national and North American employed staff. Unfortunately, the material is not adequate for this purpose, since only very few movements were able to supply the necessary information. Such data as were provided, however, indicate a situation not unlike that found for the national employed staff and so are perhaps worth reproducing. This is done in Table XXV.

It will be seen that conditions in China are not reassuring, and the YMCA report deplores both the decline in lay leadership and the rapid turnover. This document further states that fewer lay people are being used in program work than was formerly the case; a state of affairs especially to be regretted when it is recalled that 41 per cent of the board and committee men in this movement are engaged in the liberal professions, and

TABLE XXV—LENGTH OF SERVICE OF YMCA AND YWCA LAY LEADERS IN SPECIFIED COUNTRIES.

AREA	LENGTH OF SERVICE IN YEARS				
	Shortest Period of Service	First * Quartile	Median *	Third * Quartile	Longest Period of Service
YMCA					
China	1	1	4	14	22
India	1	2	7	8	31
Turkey	1	2	4	5	10
YWCA					
China (Present Leaders) .	1	2	5	6	19
China (Former Leaders) .	1	1	3	4	14

* See footnote Table XIX.

more than half of these are educators. Disturbed political conditions are offered as the chief explanation.

Salaries and Security

A comparison, in terms of buying power, of the actual salaries paid by the several movements under consideration, either with conditions in North America or among the movements themselves, is too complex and technical a procedure to fall within the scope of this study. It can be said, however, that the salaries paid in the several countries compare rather favorably, on the whole, with what is paid locally in small business positions and the lower ranks of government employment. They are usually higher than the standard for ministers and religious workers, and, although below the average for administrators in the educational field, are about on a par with those received by the average teacher.

A less favorable aspect of the situation, however, is the almost complete absence of any standardized salary schedule or of provision for regular promotion. This is particularly serious in the Associations in the Far East, where the work is older and considerably larger than elsewhere. The YMCA of India, Burma and Ceylon is a notable exception to this rule inasmuch as it drew up, in 1920, definite regulations by which to control the local situation with regard to recruiting, training, assignment and

salary. The plan for this last item provides for a basic salary, equal in all cases, and a small monthly "duty allowance" for such secretaries as show sufficient ability to take over some of the supervision, and a larger "duty allowance" for department heads and administrators. Rent allowances are made for each particular locality and situation. The object of these rules was to standardize the salaries on a scale that "should be no more than adequate to maintain the average man recruited in fair comfort," should provide him some competence and the assurance that "in case of illness or other calamity which comes upon him as 'an act of God' he will receive considerate treatment."

There are arrangements for retirement allowances in the YMCAs of China, Japan and India. In China only 28 out of a possible 85, to whom the questionnaire was sent, said they belonged to the Secretarial Insurance Alliance, while another eighteen carried life insurance policies elsewhere. In Japan 24 out of the 43 secretaries who furnished the information participated in the local scheme, and in India 46 out of 53. Interview material from China and India suggests a general feeling that these arrangements are very inadequate to the actual needs. In Czechoslovakia the secretaries are legally in the class of "private officials" and so are covered by the local plans, prescribed by law, for retirement allowance and health insurance. Theoretically, all YMCA indigenous secretaries are entitled to participate in the retirement fund of the North American YMCAs (and the National Board of the YWCA has been considering similar plans) but the complications of international exchange are too hazardous to permit many secretaries to take advantage of this privilege. Otherwise there is, in the several movements of both the YMCA and the YWCA, no provision for retirement allowance and no insurance against sickness or disability beyond some such policy statement as that quoted above, in the case of the India YMCA. This absence of a retirement fund is felt to be a great professional disadvantage especially in India, Europe and Latin America, where government positions carry with them the assurance of a pension.

Another serious defect in the personnel situation which is

complained of generally is uncertainty of tenure. In India, of the 28 YMCA secretaries who expressed themselves in the questionnaire with reference to salary, half said that they were not satisfied with their own situation, and several of the others said that the scale was satisfactory but, as there was no pension or adequate retirement fund, they felt uncertain and insecure regarding the future. The same criticism came even more clearly to expression in the series of staff group discussions, conducted by the India survey. Without contradiction by their colleagues, Indian secretaries complained emphatically of the uncertainty of their positions. One Indian staff member went into considerable detail:

From the point of view of income, there is no financial security for an Indian "Y" secretary. You will hardly find any outstanding graduate to join the "Y" in the last three or four years. Not because he is not prepared to make a sacrifice, but because he has a feeling that at some time or other there may be no funds for his support and he may have to leave. If a man takes up work in an Indian Association he is not sure that he will for the next ten or fifteen years get employment. The directors may ask him to look out for another job at any time.

A former secretary considered that the chief difficulty with the Association secretaryship as a career was the "question of permanency," and a leading missionary in Bombay thought the Indian secretaries were being "shabbily treated" on the score of "low salaries, no allowances, and no security of service." While the latter statement is an exaggeration and while the Association secretaryship may be reckoned as one of the most attractive open to Christian Indians, it is nevertheless clear that the undesirable rate of turnover may be largely explained by the state of affairs here pointed out.

In Latin America, certain steps are now being taken to provide a retirement fund for YMCA national secretaries. This is of great importance when it is realized that pensions at an early age are definitely in vogue, in the republics south of the Rio Grande. Thus, it is possible in some countries for teachers to retire on full pension at forty. This is a circumstance of grave

significance in view of the competition from government schools in the realm of physical education which these Associations are coming to experience. While the salaries differed materially as between Associations and as between individuals, the regional consultants were led to believe from their interviews that the YMCA employed staff "have less fault to find with the actual salaries than with the uncertainty of tenure of their office and the lack of retirement fund."³

The situation is perhaps even more serious in Europe, where the national secretariat is drawn from a class socially and economically more prominent than is true of the Indian Christians. The same point of view on office tenure appears to prevail in Latin America. Few business conditions in the United States surprise visitors from abroad more than the enormous turnover in corporations and enterprises of various kinds, together with the amazing opportunity afforded the individual to start all over again if his venture does not turn out well. In Europe such failure is a crushing blow, and loss of position carries with it considerably greater loss in prestige than it does in North America. Indications of this may be seen in the far greater attention paid, across the Atlantic, to references and credentials. This general attitude creates an atmosphere inhospitable to the practice of both Associations abroad of making contracts with national secretaries only for a year at a time, or (the more usual case) of dispensing with contracts altogether. Although the same practice obtains almost everywhere, serious criticism of it was forthcoming, as already indicated, chiefly from the Indian, European and Latin American secretaries.

Furthermore, there is some complaint of insecurity of another kind. Owing to the accepted Association procedure of raising funds annually for current expenses, there is no absolute guarantee that salaries will always be paid on time. To be sure, there is not much real ground for uneasiness on this score since most Associations have been able to meet their obligations regularly. It does mean, however, that when financial conditions are unfavorable the national secretaries often are the ones to feel

³ Area Report on Latin America.

the consequences. The local YMCAs in the smaller towns of Korea, for instance, might almost be said to be running on a volunteer basis since the secretaries cannot count on receiving their salaries regularly. While the feeling encountered among the European secretaries was based primarily upon the uncertainty of the situation, there is evidence also of actual hardship. In the words of one of their number: "We live from hand to mouth and very often we—the staff—are not sure of getting even part of our salary at the end of the month." It so happens that the individual in question is one of the two or three most able national secretaries in Europe, and he has a mother and three younger brothers and sisters to support, as well as a wife and two small children.

The consensus of opinion among the YMCA secretaries in Europe is that, until there is definite professional recognition of the secretaryship backed by financial security, it will be impossible to hold men permanently in the work. YWCA secretaries are less articulate on this point largely because most of them have no dependents and because professional standards of any kind do not as yet properly exist for women in most of the countries here studied. There is no reason to suppose, however, that the situation will not be the same eventually, unless definite steps are taken soon to control it.

Although the salaries paid by the several movements compare favorably with what is usually received locally for approximately similar work, the greater insecurity of Association positions weighs heavily in the balance against the movements. Moreover, from the standpoint of adequacy to present need, the salary scale is quite unsatisfactory. The matter is not so serious in Latin America, nor were the Indian YMCA secretaries as a group markedly dissatisfied on this score. On the whole, of course, it is more serious for the men than for the women, but the YWCA secretaries in Latvia and Esthonia, while admitting that they could probably not do much better for themselves elsewhere, also indicated that it was not easy for them to make both ends meet. The situation in China is very serious for both Associations. In the YWCA only four secretaries out of 42

said their salaries were sufficient for their needs, 21 said they were sufficient but allowed for no margin, while the remaining 17 definitely said that their salaries were insufficient. In the YMCA, the average secretary is married and usually supports about three persons in addition to his wife and family. Furthermore, although the China YMCA report considers that the secretaries' health probably compares favorably enough with what is prevalent in China, in similar work, it also states that "in a number of cases, illness is a financial burden." Of the 86 secretaries to whom the questionnaire was sent, 47 reported heavy indebtedness and several more wrote that they did not care to answer the question. In view of the fact that the primary reason why former secretaries of both movements left them was that other work seemed more desirable—the YMCA secretaries specifically mentioned financial reasons more often than any other—the above considerations clearly point to one explanation of the difficult personnel situation in China. Specific information on 56 former YMCA secretaries indicates that most of them have been able to do better for themselves financially than was possible in the Association. The median salary of the group, at the time of the study, was nearly twice the amount they were receiving when they left the YMCA, and the central tendency shows an increase of from one-third (upper quartile) to four-fifths (lower quartile). These considerations, together with the absence of plans to govern recruiting, placement, promotion and salary, and of adequate plans for retirement, while the organized training schools have been allowed to break down completely, strongly suggest that the loss of so many able men to the China YMCA may be attributed to defective administrative policy quite as much as to the financial retrenchment made necessary by the political unrest.

The situation among the North Americans is in striking contrast to that among the national secretaries. The difference between the two groups with regard to standards of living is a matter of common remark in every country. It is complicated by too many considerations to warrant treatment in the present study, but it may be noted that the disparity is due to the mani-

fest desire of each Foreign Division to guard as much as possible the professional security and prestige of its secretaries. In line with the trend in North America towards increased professionalization of social and welfare work, both Associations have tried to raise the dignity and security of the secretaryship, and both Foreign Divisions have recently studied the salary situation for their secretaries in foreign service.

Considering first the situation in the YMCA, the report was completed in 1929, and deals specifically with the problem of living costs in relation to salaries. It defines the existing theory with regard to salaries as follows:

The present salary scale is based on the theory that each secretary should receive from the Committee an income in salary and allowance adequate to maintain him and his family in the country where he is located, and on a standard of living appropriate to the nature of his work and responsibilities. His income is intended to be adequate to provide for the maintenance of health through proper housing conditions, annual vacation and necessary medical attention, for the education of his children through college if desired, and for reasonable protection by life insurance, participation in the Secretarial Insurance Alliance and Retirement Fund.⁴

The salary is not determined, to any appreciable extent, by considerations of training, previous experience, present position or competitive value. The variations between countries and areas, therefore, supposedly reflect local differences in the cost of living. Payments are made under two major heads: salary items (including basic salary, regular increments to include compensation for fluctuations in currency, and special increases for each child), and allowances of various kinds, chiefly for travel to, from and on the field. In the Far East small additional appropriations are made to the North American secretaries as a group for the purpose of keeping up such property as is maintained for their joint benefit, usually vacation houses. The actual payments made to 166 secretaries during 1929-1930 are arranged in Table XXVI in such a way as to show the total range, the central tendency and the median for the group in each area.

⁴ The Harvey Report, p. 1.

TABLE XXVI—SALARIES AND ALLOWANCES IN DOLLARS, OF YMCA FOREIGN DIVISION SECRETARIES (1929-1930).

PAYMENTS BY AREAS	LOWEST	FIRST QUARTILE	MEDIAN	THIRD QUARTILE	HIGHEST
Salary Items					
China	1,393	2,888	3,315	3,723	4,216
India, Burma, Ceylon.....	1,900	2,969	3,345	3,732	4,644
Japan, Korea, Philippines....	1,955	3,875	4,750	5,300	8,018
Turkey and Europe	1,083	2,833	3,750	4,313	8,000
Latin America	2,000	3,313	4,315	5,125	6,006
Africa and Near East.....	1,474	2,875	3,335	3,875	5,008
Allowances					
China	854	1,339	2,000	4,417	6,482
India, Burma, Ceylon.....	540	1,625	2,625	3,500	5,647
Japan, Korea, Philippines....	1,355	1,643	2,625	4,000	6,292
Turkey and Europe	125	1,057	1,477	2,125	3,610
Latin America	1,050	1,750	2,333	2,625	5,384
Africa and Near East.....	634	1,417	1,500	2,250	4,201
Total Payments					
China	2,247	4,227	5,315	8,140	10,698
India, Burma, Ceylon.....	2,440	4,594	5,970	7,232	10,291
Japan, Korea, Philippines....	3,310	5,518	7,375	9,300	14,310
Turkey and Europe	1,208	3,890	5,227	6,438	11,610
Latin America	3,050	5,063	6,648	7,750	11,390
Africa and Near East.....	2,108	4,282	4,835	6,125	9,209

According to Margaretta Williamson's studies, salaries paid to YMCA secretaries in the United States compare very favorably with the standard for other educational and welfare work, and show the following distribution: ⁵

TABLE XXVII—SALARIES, IN DOLLARS, OF YMCA SECRETARIES IN THE UNITED STATES.

SECRETARIES	Lowest	Median	Highest
Metropolitan Secretaries	5,000	9,900	15,000
General Secretaries	1,620	4,000	7,500
Physical Directors, City.....	3,000	4,240	5,000
Physical Directors, Branch	1,680	3,450	6,000

As a group, the Foreign Division secretaries are roughly comparable to the general secretaries and city-wide physical directors in America. Only a very few of them carry responsibilities as heavy as those borne by heads of large metropolitan systems in the United States. Compared on this basis, the total payments

⁵ *The Social Worker in Group Work*, pp. 187 and 237.

made to the secretaries abroad are well above the usual salaries at home. According to the salary scale published by the Personnel Division of the national headquarters, November 1, 1928, the average Foreign Division total salary is decidedly in the upper decile for general secretaries, at home, even of longer service and greater age.

It must be said, on the other hand, that according to the very careful study referred to above of the relation between salary and cost of living in the several countries, the Foreign Division secretaries as a group have greater expenses abroad than they would have in the United States. The situation differs, of course, in different countries. In China, the Philippines, Africa, the Near East, and most of the Latin American countries, the present salary scale is rated as relatively unfavorable; in Brazil, Turkey and India as relatively just; in Uruguay, Japan, Manchuria, Ceylon and most of the European countries, as relatively favorable. (The evidence from Czechoslovakia was inconclusive.) This rating is confirmed by the observations of the International Survey staff.

The important element in the situation for the purposes of the present study, however, consists in the detailed provision made by the Foreign Division for the protection of its secretaries. To quote the salary study once more:

Favorable features in the budget of foreign secretaries which tend to equalize somewhat their less favorable salary status, are the protection and sense of security assured by the National Council in providing for regular and emergency and hospital expenses, in adjusting allowances such as rent, vacation, education of children, etc., to meet the varying and changing conditions in each family, and the Council's uniformly thoughtful, sympathetic and wise dealing with problems which arise in the lives of its staff and the members of their families. The value of this protection and this sympathetic treatment of the staff and their families came out repeatedly in the course of this study, in the reports, correspondence and personal interviews on the field. It accounts in a large measure for the high morale which has been maintained in the Foreign staff.⁶

⁶ The Harvey Report, p. 31.

The nature and extent of this provision may be seen from Table XXVIII which analyzes in detail the actual payments made to each area in terms of percentage.

TABLE XXVIII—PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF TOTAL PAYMENTS TO YMCA FOREIGN DIVISION SECRETARIES, 1929-1930.

PAYMENT ITEMS	CHINA	INDIA BURMA CEYLON	JAPAN KOREA P. I.	TURKEY AND EUROPE	LATIN AMERICA	AFRICA AND NEAR EAST
Salary Items						
Basic Salary	28.9	33.9	34.5	49.2	40.9	43.4
Increment and Special Grant	14.2	12.7	16.8	10.8	10.0	9.9
Children Allowance	9.4	7.4	9.1	8.8	12.6	11.2
Allowances						
Travel	16.4	20.2	17.7	6.0	8.2	7.1
Rent	7.8	14.4	6.6	10.7	15.3	13.0
Education of Children....	6.2	1.8	3.0	3.8	0.2	2.8
Vacation	1.7	2.2	1.6	2.2	1.4	2.6
Language Study	1.3	0.2	2.5	0.9	0.1	1.4
Educational Material for Home Base	0.2	0.3	0.2	0.4	5.0	0.6
Outfit or Refit.....	0.9	0.3	0.6	1.1	0.7	1.0
Retirement Expenses	4.0	3.3	2.3	4.0	3.3	2.8
Medical	5.9	1.9	3.5	1.8	2.0	2.9
Miscellaneous	0.1	1.4	0.7	0.3	0.3	1.3
Upkeep of Property	3.0	...	0.9	...	...	...
Total.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

The Foreign Division of the American YWCA completed a reorganization of its salary scale in 1930, on the basis of a special study made in 1928. The chief reason for making the revision, according to the report itself, was the change that had taken place in the recruiting situation. There was an increased call from the field for American specialists on short terms, and an increased reluctance among prospective recruits to regard foreign service as a life work. To quote specifically:

In order to meet the present request the secretarial staff of the Associations in the United States must become our main recruiting field, and foreign service considered as a natural and valuable experience for American secretaries. Contract arrangements need to be made which maintain as far as possible the professional standing of the

secretary at the same level as that which she probably would have in the United States for the same period of time.⁷

The revised salary scale aims to provide a standardized schedule with regular increases, based on length of service and previous positions held, which will make possible an approximately uniform standard of living, in the several countries, and which will enable a secretary to maintain her rating in the secretarial retirement fund at about the same standard as that which she would have had if working continuously in the United States. Hitherto a system has been in operation similar to that existing in the YMCA, whereby basic salaries have been paid together with allowances for travel, language study, rent, vacation and other items. The policy is now in the direction of paying larger salaries and letting secretaries make their own arrangements. This is notably the case with regard to the item for rent. Since the transition from one system to another is now in process, and some secretaries are being taken care of by one arrangement and some by the other, it was not possible to secure figures in detail comparable to those obtained for the YMCA. It will, however, be of interest to examine the range, central tendency and median figures for the basic salaries actually paid during 1929-1930.

TABLE XXIX—BASIC SALARIES, IN DOLLARS, OF YWCA AMERICAN FOREIGN DIVISION SECRETARIES, 1929-1930.

AREA	Lowest	First Quartile	Median	Third Quartile	Highest
China	1,262	1,364	1,679	2,000	2,160
India, Burma, Ceylon	800	1,594	1,813	2,029	2,063
Japan, Philippines	1,650	1,679	1,857	2,125	3,200
Europe and Near East	1,560	1,938	2,250	2,583	3,000
Latin America	1,620	1,705	1,911	2,406	2,994

Miss Williamson gives the usual range of salaries for YWCA general secretaries in the United States as from \$2,400 to \$3,500, and of metropolitan secretaries as from \$3,200 to \$5,000.⁸ Inas-

⁷ Report of the Foreign Personnel Commission, p. 1.

⁸ *The Social Worker and Group Work*, pp. 237-8.

much as the figures in the above table do not include the important item of rent, it is probable that the salaries for the Foreign Division staff should be rated, as to buying power, somewhere between the two domestic groups.

It is clear from the above consideration that, in drawing up policies for the secretaryship abroad, both Foreign Divisions have been guided primarily by conditions in the United States. One very real problem resulting from their personnel arrangements is that of relationships with other so-called "sending" countries. It is literally impossible for the national movements of Great Britain, Australia, New Zealand, and Canada, not to mention Germany and Scandinavia, to make similar provision for the secretaries they send abroad. The unusually low minimum salary for India, in the above table for the YWCA, is due to the fact that the YWCA of the United States is carrying the salary of a British secretary on its budget. In this way the problem involved in having different members of what is supposedly one staff living according to different standards, is greatly intensified. Judging from interview reports there is more feeling on this score between representatives from different "sending" countries, than between the national staffs and the foreigners as a whole. In regard to relationships with the national employed staff the situation is this: while both Foreign Divisions have been exerting themselves to safeguard their secretaries in every way, the several movements with which the Foreign Divisions have been cooperating have made little corresponding effort in behalf of their nationals and, in the countries of Europe and Latin America, are actually offering local secretaries less security than would be available to them in other occupations.

Conditions of Work

Information on the number of hours that constitute a normal working week for the employed staff was not provided by the individual reports to any very great extent, and what there is was based on personal estimates. The great difficulty in this connection is the lack of clear distinction between time spent for the Association and time spent in personal pursuits. On the

basis of available material the conclusion may be hazarded that the employed staff puts in rather more than an ordinary business week, but not more than is usually the case in social and welfare work in America. The mean estimate for the YMCA national staff, in the several countries, runs between 50 and 60 hours a week, and for the YWCA 45 to 50. Actual figures for the North Americans are not available, to any considerable extent, but the average for this group is probably somewhat higher than for the nationals. Some executives consider that they are never off the job, but it is generally accepted that this is to be expected in work of this type. In a similar way ministers and physicians can never be sure of their own time. There are, however, certain assistant—often younger—national secretaries in most countries (particularly in Poland and in the China YWCA), who appear to be carrying unduly heavy burdens of a routine nature.

That the actual working hours are not excessive, in most cases, may be concluded from several considerations. In the first place, the general health of the staff is sufficiently good on the whole to make reasonable the assumption that such unfavorable conditions as are reported are not attributable to Association service as such. There is a good deal of tuberculosis, typhoid, dysentery and skin disease among the national secretaries in Japan and China, but such conditions are very general in those countries. The climate in China appears to be rather hard on some of the North Americans, especially of the YWCA, and of both Associations in India. In Brazil, also, climatic conditions have probably affected the work adversely. With few exceptions, however, the general level everywhere is good among nationals and North Americans alike.

Further evidence of this sort is afforded by the circumstance that it is the irregularity and unconventionality of the working schedule, rather than its actual arduousness that is troublesome to secretaries and elicits criticisms from their families and friends. This was more true among the European and Latin American secretaries of the YMCA than among other groups, or at least they were more articulate about it. The Italian secretaries ap-

parently felt that they had sufficient leisure for study and recreation, but this was not usually the case in Europe. In Poland, one leading secretary went so far as to say "a secretary cannot and ought not to create a family," both because of the lack of opportunity for a normal home life and because of financial insecurity.

Conclusive data on vacation schedules were not supplied, but it is clear that the arrangements are not very adequate for the indigenous staff in most countries. Two or three weeks a year seems to be the usual rule and this appears to be in accordance with general conditions in the several countries. There is, however, no proper standard of comparison. Association secretaries work longer hours and carry more responsibility than is usually the case in the educational and business positions with which they have been compared on the score of remuneration. Moreover, they do not have the same advantages as these latter with regard to pensions and special bonuses. The North American secretaries, on the other hand, are given at least a month's vacation annually. It should be said, however, that no very marked dissatisfaction on this score was encountered among the national secretaries.

FUNCTIONS AND RELATIONSHIPS

According to the theory on which both Foreign Divisions have been operating from the beginning, the work is initiated by the North American secretaries at the request of local citizens. They are sent to build up the necessary constituency, train local leadership, both lay and employed, and then retire from the scene as soon as possible. Their function is thus originally administrative and promotional in nature, but becomes increasingly advisory. Responsibility for managing the buildings and carrying out the program is then gradually taken over by the national employed staff, while the boards of directors are the final authority on financial matters and general policies.

In actual practice, at the present time, the situation is as follows. A system of control by boards and committees has been set up everywhere in the several movements of both Associations.

As seems to be true of the situation in North America, however, and not only in the Christian Associations, the real initiative in policy making comes from the leading secretaries more often than not, and especially from the North Americans. This is perhaps only natural in view of the fact that democratic theories of procedure are practically unknown, in most of the countries here under consideration, and are mediated to the laymen through the North Americans. However, these boards, especially in the men's work, are not "rubber stamps" for the secretaries. The high turnover among laymen in the Chinese local YMCAs, together with the concern over the situation expressed in the China report, indicates that not much real leadership can be forthcoming from these men. But the laymen of Europe, the Near East and Latin America, in both Associations, certainly give evidence of taking themselves seriously and show some disposition to regard the members of the professional staff as "employees." The board women in some of the smaller Chinese YWCAs, for instance Hangchow and Changsha, have shown marked ability to handle critical situations without foreign assistance. The most notable instance, however, of aggressive and thoroughgoing lay leadership is afforded by the YMCA of Japan. In general the women of the various countries are even less accustomed than are the men to cooperative methods. Their inexperience sometimes expresses itself in shy self-effacement and sometimes in dominating self-assertion.

Beside serving on boards and committees, laymen assist in financial and membership campaigns and, to a limited extent, in certain aspects of program work. Clubs or Bible classes are often entrusted to volunteer leaders, including outside individuals more often than board and committee members, and certain minor functions about the hostels or general administration are taken care of by such persons. An important function of laymen is that of securing recognition for the several Associations by allowing their names to be used for public endorsement, and by assisting the employed staff in making contacts. For this purpose several leading citizens are usually asked to serve on the several boards of directors or are made honorary members of the Association.

Five of the thirteen YMCAs selected for study in China reported supplementary "honorary" boards of directors, made up of influential non-Christians, whose services consist in smoothing away difficulties for the Associations in question and helping them on the financial side.

As indicated elsewhere in this report, there is still another class of volunteer service that should be mentioned at this point. There are small groups of earnest members, selected from the rank and file of the program participants, who are given special training for service in helping with the program. Such groups are found especially in the YMCAs of Europe and Latin America, where they are known as "leaders' corps" and are usually entrusted with helping in physical education. The cooperation of one such group in Turkey, for instance, made it possible to continue the regular program in the absence, for study, of the local physical director. An especially devoted company of this sort exists in the YMCA of Lima, Peru, which is not only in charge of most of the extension program, but has also distinguished itself by the superior ethical and spiritual standard to which it is committed. It is from the ranks of groups such as these that the Associations may be expected to recruit their secretaries and lay leaders in the most natural and effective manner.

The inner circles among the Russian young people in Paris and the student membership of the work in South Africa are, of course, comparable if not superior in function and purpose to these leaders' corps of the more typical YMCAs. The same is true of the little Associations in the south of India; 75 such YMCAs in Travancore, for instance, carry on entirely under voluntary Indian leadership. Until recently the Korean YWCA has been a voluntary organization altogether, and now it has but one paid (Korean) secretary. The local YMCAs, in the same country, are also largely dependent on volunteers, among whom must be counted many of the appointed secretaries, as already indicated elsewhere, since their salaries are paid very irregularly. One such secretary, a recognized leader in Korea, has not received his salary for ten years.

As regards the employed staff and the relation between the foreign and national secretaries, the situation is, of course, different in the several countries. In the Far East for instance, excepting the Philippines, where North American control still obtains, the chief executive positions are in the hands of nationals, and the same is largely true, at least in theory, in the local organizations within each movement. In the local Associations, however, extensive use is still made of North American guidance and virtual leadership, and this is particularly true in the YWCA. In India, Burma and Ceylon, the YWCA is still managed by American and British secretaries, and, except for the chief executive functions at headquarters, the same is very largely true in the YMCA. In Europe and the Near East the situation differs in the various countries, more or less responsibility being entrusted to local leadership, but, with few exceptions, the key positions in these young movements are held by North Americans. In Latin America, the employed staff of the YWCA is almost exclusively North American, while the local administration of the several YMCAs is very largely in the hands of nationals. There are relatively few executive positions of larger scope, in this area, and these are almost all held by foreigners. It will be seen, accordingly, that in the Far East and India—that is to say in the older movements—the process of nationalization starts at the top and proceeds more or less gradually to the local situation, while the reverse of this seems to be taking place in Europe, the Near East and Latin America. Moreover, the two characteristic patterns appear to be the same for the two Christian Associations. What is going to be the process in South Africa cannot, of course, be predicted, since the work is still very much in the pioneering stage.

It cannot be said that the personnel situation is anywhere fully satisfactory. The most outstanding problem that emerges from the several studies the world over is that of national leadership. The right sort of young men and women are not being attracted to the secretaryship in adequate numbers. Furthermore, there is not enough of that essential community of ideas and purposes between the nationals and the North Americans which is

needed to guarantee the vitality of the organizations. The causes underlying this state of affairs are to be found partly in the characteristics of the national secretaries, partly in the psychology of the North Americans, and perhaps most of all in the constitutional relationship between the two groups.

In the first place, the national secretaries as a group have shown little aptitude for managerial functions. There is a rather wide-spread complaint, from them as well as from the North Americans, of unreliability, inability to stand up under difficulties, and mutual jealousy. They have also shown a marked reluctance to assist in raising money and in some cases a lack of fiduciary sense. In the YWCA the difficulty was usually attributed to inexperience and immaturity rather than to anything deeper, but people were not so optimistic in the YMCA. For instance, one of the more thoughtful North Americans said of his native colleagues: "We have been disappointed in the men we trained. Good enough fellows, but too weak. . . . They are glad to have somebody take responsibility; they will not follow each other loyally but are full of jealousy." One of the nationals themselves said: "We need foreign secretaries more than ever now to give stability to pull us through the storm that is coming. Many of our people will get discouraged or frightened and will quit." The same criticisms were made in certain European countries, and even more emphatically in Latin America. The Mexican survey commission, for example, made a study of all former YMCA secretaries, both national and foreign, and suggested reasons for the success or failure of each individual. According to their diagnosis (and the personnel of the commission was predominantly Mexican), the least developed characteristic of the Mexican secretaries was friendly cooperation with their colleagues. Business men and leading citizens in the several countries, national and foreign alike, overwhelmingly confirmed such characterizations.

The reverse side of the picture is, of course, the dictatorial conception of leadership prevalent in so many of these countries. Group action and mutual responsibility are as yet rather foreign to accepted traditions, and the tendency is strong to follow

the lead of outstanding individuals rather than to share initiative in a common undertaking. Strength of character thus easily becomes associated with dominating personalities, and leadership of this kind has not been wanting in either Christian Association. Nor is it entirely confined to the employed staff. The fact that personal dignity and sensitive pride so easily confuse the issue when policies are being discussed or criticisms offered, has led to more than one very painful situation.

But this matter has another aspect. Thoughtful people in many countries raised the question whether or not the Association secretaryship, as now organized, offered any real opportunity for personal development. Many Chinese secretaries have left the Associations, it will be remembered, for other work. According to two members of the national staff, this happened because "they all say they can do better in other institutions both for salary and for scope of work. The YMCA has too many activities. It cannot do any of them well." This contention is borne out by the actual facts in the case of the 56 former secretaries cited in the preceding section of this chapter. The same criticism was voiced by many of the YWCA secretaries, and the student secretary at Yenching thought the Association would have to experiment definitely in some one line if it was to attract the local students. One of the North Americans of the YWCA staff observed: "Chinese leadership is our greatest problem. Many of our secretaries have transferred to become heads of colleges formerly under foreign control." In line with this general criticism is the fact that among the "dissatisfactions" in their present jobs, drawn up for the survey, the Chinese YWCA secretaries gave first place to "lack of chance for growth" and "the futility of the work."

In other parts of the world the unsatisfactoriness of the secretaryship was attributed to the arbitrariness of the administration and the dominance of the North Americans more often than to the diffuseness of the program. The Indian YMCA secretaries felt rather strongly that they were not being sufficiently consulted about the work in general or their part in it. As one of their former colleagues put it, "the Indian secretary is too

liable to the personal whims of the general secretary who is often a foreigner." They also felt unduly tied down by administrative routine without sufficient chance for initiative. According to the composite estimate by 37 out of a possible 55, as much as 40 per cent of their time was spent in isolation doing office work. Moreover, 11 out of the 28 who commented on the satisfactoriness of their positions said they were not doing work for which they felt themselves particularly fitted. The India missionary quoted earlier thought the Indian YMCA secretaries degenerated in office "because they have no opportunities to develop along lines in which they have any special interest . . . in separate localities European secretaries control the situation and the Indian general secretaries are not often consulted." Similar comments came from the European secretaries, and from the YMCA more than from the YWCA. Together with a certain chafing under the load of routine work devolving upon them, especially at the "desk duty," there is also definite complaint of North American domination. This is especially true of the Polish secretaries who, as a group, proved themselves perhaps the most articulately dissatisfied of all the staffs here studied. The resentment is not only against interference and restriction as such, but against the source from which it comes, as may be seen from the following statements:

The National Council and headquarters are necessary to the movement, but there is too much bureaucratic work and not enough leadership.

Being under a constant control of local and national [*i.e.*, central headquarters] leaders, who are not always qualified for this kind of work, I have no chance to show my initiative and put through my projects.

The leaders create difficulties that hamper the work.

Due allowance must, of course, be made for the common human tendency to find fault with superiors. Persons who are loyal in a crisis and who believe in their work often criticise those who have authority over them when given an invitation to uncover their feelings. The remarks here quoted should not be

allowed to obscure the many examples of effective and growing leadership. Nevertheless the cumulative force of such criticism is too great to be ignored.

Curiously enough, in the Far East, where the status of the foreign secretaries has shifted from that of administrator to that of adviser and where the technical initiative comes from the nationals, it is the North Americans who complain of the lack of scope for their abilities and of the arbitrariness of the administration. The foreign secretaries (especially those at headquarters) of both Associations in Japan and for the most part those in China (the YWCA staff did not feel this quite so keenly) spoke feelingly of the futility of their work, the lack of proper assignments, and the excessive strain of holding back and doing little. Important decisions are made without consultation with them and they are not always invited to staff conferences. Many of them sought an escape in community activities and outside work of some sort. In Japan, while the survey was in progress a break had occurred in each of the movements between the national and the foreign employed staffs. In the China YMCA there was considerable feeling that foreign secretaries were being used for "hack work" by the central administration and arbitrarily shifted about.

While there are of course exceptions to this general rule, especially in the European area, in the form of happy relationships between North Americans and nationals on the employed staffs, the discontent on one side or the other is so exceedingly wide-spread as to raise serious questions with regard to the present theory of operation. Undoubtedly there is friction between the two groups on account of nationalistic sensitiveness, and the process of "coming of age," as it were, is notoriously difficult, but there are certain considerations that make it impossible to attribute the entire difficulty to causes such as these. In the first place, the charge of arbitrary administration and interference with individual growth is uniformly brought against those in authority, no matter what their nationality. The Chinese YMCA secretaries expressed themselves in no uncertain terms, in the report, about the lack of understanding or assistance of

any kind from the Chinese central administration. The Indian secretaries complained of the Americans and British in control of the local situations, but also of the Indian administration at headquarters. In the ranks of the foreign staff in the Japan YWCA, there was almost as great a rift between the younger and older members as between the group as a whole and the Japanese secretaries. In Latin America, this feeling was not as general among the present employed officers as was found to be true elsewhere, but it was present. The history of the foreign secretariat of the YWCA, in this area, has been full of unfortunate situations attributed largely by the individuals concerned to neglect on the part of the continental office or the Foreign Division in New York. It is of interest to record that a marked improvement has taken place, recently, owing more than anything else to the personal visit, in 1929, of the executive secretary of the Foreign Division, and to the more adequate arrangements, subsequently made, for maintaining contacts.

Finally, there is a striking resemblance between the complaints of the Indian and Polish secretaries, and indeed of the younger secretaries of any nationality, and similar protests brought against their superiors by the subordinate secretaries in two large metropolitan YMCAs recently surveyed in great detail in the United States. These men likewise complained of long hours of burdensome routine, no opportunity for self-expression, and no real participation in the life of the organization. Along the same line is the remark of one of the foreign secretaries in the Japan YMCA, made to his fellow North Americans on the occasion of a heart-searching conference together:

When we talk about scope for our abilities, I wonder just what we mean by that. When I was home I came in contact with quite a number of secretaries, department heads and junior secretaries, who feel exactly the same way about their positions at home.

In the light of such considerations the conclusion seems warranted that the Association atmosphere is, generally speaking, exceedingly favorable to the development of centralized autocracy, and that interracial friction is of minor importance in the

personnel situation. The relationship between the foreign and national secretaries abroad is essentially not so much that of teacher and pupil as it is of directors and directed.

It should be said at once that this conflict is not often a conscious one and that the North Americans, as a group, have made heroic efforts to take seriously the theory of national leadership. Light on the problem will perhaps be shed by a closer inquiry into the sort of people the foreign secretaries are and into their professional outlook. Attention has already been called to the far greater security enjoyed by the North Americans than by the national secretaries. This state of affairs, however, is distinctly modified by the circumstance that the security is virtually contingent on their remaining in foreign service. The facts on the subsequent careers of former Foreign Division secretaries will be illuminating. Information on this score, as of January 1, 1930, was available for 183 of the 207 YWCA secretaries who have returned since 1919; another 8 have only just returned and there are no records for the remaining 16. The facts at hand are shown in Table XXX.

TABLE XXX—SUBSEQUENT WORK OF RETURNED YWCA FOREIGN DIVISION SECRETARIES.

	<i>Sub- total</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Per Cent of Total</i>
Stayed in Association work.....		58	32
In the U. S. A.....	56		
Elsewhere	2		
Other employment in the U. S. A.....		54	29
Educational work	21		
Business	19		
Welfare work	11		
Other work	3		
Foreign field work, other auspices.....		13	7
At home		47	26
Married and retired.....	36		
Staying with families.....	11		
Out of active work.....		11	6
Recalled or retired because of ill health...	4		
Reached retirement age.....	3		
Died or killed in service.....	4		
Total		183	100

In the YMCA, as of the same date, 176 secretaries were still in the field. The data on the history of those who had returned home, so far as they are available, are presented in Table XXXI.

TABLE XXXI—SUBSEQUENT WORK OF RETURNED YMCA FOREIGN DIVISION SECRETARIES

	<i>No.</i>	<i>Per Cent of Total</i>
Association Work in North America	175	68
Similar Work in North America or Abroad	23	9
Other, Unrelated Occupations	14	5
Out of Active Work:		
Returned for Health Reasons	31	12
Recalled	12	5
Reached Retirement Age	3	1
Total	258	100
No Data	73	
Grand Total	331	

Those listed as "recalled" or "returned for health reasons" in the above tables, represent those secretaries who came back for these assigned reasons and for whom there is no further information; there are doubtless several in each Association now engaged in work of some other kind who also returned on one or the other of these counts. In the YWCA, it will be seen that

TABLE XXXII—DISTRIBUTION OF RETURNED YMCA FOREIGN DIVISION SECRETARIES STILL IN ASSOCIATION WORK ACCORDING TO TYPE OF SERVICE IN U. S. A.*

TYPE OF ASSOCIATION WORK	ACTIVE GROUP		INACTIVE GROUP	
	No.	Per Cent of Total	No.	Per Cent of Total
Local Association Work	104	84	47	90
Income Production	13	11	2	4
Foreign Division	4	3	3	6
Friendly Relations Among Students	2	2		
Total	123	100	52	100
Less Overlap	3			

* Three secretaries out of the total of 175 in this group returned to Association work in Canada and Scotland, and their records are consequently not kept at the New York headquarters beyond the term of their field service.

nearly two-thirds of the returned secretaries continue their professional activities in the United States, but only about half of them under the auspices of the Association. Rather striking is the high proportion that retired in order to marry. In the YMCA a full two-thirds returned to Association service in North America, and further information is available about them. Table XXXII presents the facts regarding the type of work they engaged in.

The period of service for these men is given in Table XXXIII.

TABLE XXXIII—LENGTH OF TERM IN THE UNITED STATES OF RETURNED YMCA SECRETARIES.

TERM	ACTIVE GROUP		INACTIVE GROUP	
	No.	Per Cent of Total	No.	Per Cent of Total
Under 1 year.....	13	11	4	8
1-5 years	58	48	40	77
Over 5 years	49	41	8	15
Total.....	120	100	52	100

Generally speaking, then, these secretaries had spent some four or five years in Association work in North America, and then went abroad in their late twenties and stayed for about seven years. Then they returned to the American Associations for another period, seldom exceeding a dozen years, and thus found themselves in their middle forties looking for positions in some new field. It is rather significant that so few of the total number on the "inactive" list actually remained in the work until the retirement age, or died in service.

Clearly, there is no warrant for holding that either American movement can offer the majority of its foreign secretaries assurance of a lifelong occupation. Nor is this entirely due to the loss in contacts and professional education entailed by foreign service. The great efforts made—in the way of surveys, conferences, policy studies, and official actions—during the last five or six years, by both movements in the United States, to stabilize and dignify the secretaryship bear testimony to the prevalent lack hitherto of security and standardization. The rapidly increas-

ing professionalization of social work of all kinds together with the wide-spread restlessness throughout the world of education, both general and religious, has contributed to this activity and helped to develop within the secretariat a truly remarkable spirit of professional self-scrutiny and self-appraisal, especially within the secretariat of the YMCA. Among the most interesting developments within the major trend towards stabilization, is the marked preoccupation with the functions and relationships of the Association secretary, manifested particularly in recent studies carried on by the YMCA college in Chicago as well as by headquarters in New York. Along with this emphasis placed on the men actually carrying on the work of the movement—and it is interesting to note an increased concern among the laymen as well as within the secretariat—there has also developed rather naturally a countercurrent to the formerly increasing centralization, involving greater prominence to local Associations and also what the Personnel Division calls the “rediscovery of the local staff group” as the focus of the personnel problem. The object of this digression is first of all to indicate that the personnel difficulties encountered abroad, modified though they may be by special aspects of environment, are not in essence peculiar to any one part of the world. According to the personnel research secretary of the National Council of the YMCA, when the principal efforts of his department were begun in 1926 the movement “had the usual problems of high turnover, initial placement, transfer between Associations, positions, and terminations” as well as “all of the many salary problems.”⁹ In addition, attention is called to the fact that in North America a determined spirit of idealistic self-criticism has arisen which is already achieving notable results in redefining and reorienting the Association secretary as a social force. This spirit, as already indicated, is stirring within both movements in North America, and was encountered on the field among nationals as well as among foreigners; it appears, however, to be most marked within the YMCA of the United States.

⁹ Owen Pence: “Personnel Research in the YMCA,” in *The Personnel Journal*, Vol. VIII, No. 6, April 1930.

Since there is so little guarantee of continued service in the Associations at home (and the absorbing power of these movements has been considerably reduced by the economic depression of the last two years) it will be seen that an economic factor is operating to keep the foreign secretaries on the field. Since they have employment only so long as they are indispensable, the more or less subconscious drive is to remain "indispensable" as long as possible. There is, moreover, an economic factor of another sort working against the national (*i.e.*, indigenous) secretaries, inasmuch as their organizations can secure the services of foreigners without cost to themselves, while they have to pay salaries to the nationals. In order to remedy this situation and test the real need for outside help in such local Associations, the suggestion has been made by leading Indian secretaries in the YMCA that any Association using a foreign secretary be required to reimburse the national headquarters—and this body, presumably, in turn, the Foreign Division—to the extent of the salary it would have to pay an Indian for the same service. In the Far East, one of the regional consultants reported substantially the same conclusion with regard to the situation in China and more especially in Japan. Closely allied with this economic situation is the whole matter of prestige. Few Foreign Division secretaries can hope to occupy at home positions of such cultural opportunity or of such standing in the community as the more successful of their number attain abroad. There is indeed a general reluctance to leave foreign service, in spite of the dissatisfaction with the present situation. This came out repeatedly in interviews on the field and may be seen in the answers received from returned and furlough secretaries to a questionnaire circulated by the present survey in North America. To the question, "Would you, other things being equal, prefer foreign work to work at home?" answers were given as classified on page 146.

While the verdict is the same and quite emphatic in both Associations, it is nevertheless interesting to notice the considerably larger proportion of non-committal replies from the YWCA. This may perhaps be explained by economic and psychological considerations.

	YMCA	YWCA	BOTH	
			No.	Per Cent of Total
Yes	65	47	112	64
Yes with qualifications	11	10	21	12
No	10	11	21	12
Non-committal	1	20	21	12
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total.....	87	88	175	100
No data	2	3	5	

It is greatly to be regretted that further light on this whole problem cannot be obtained from a detailed study of how the secretaries abroad, nationals and foreigners, actually spend their time. The returns on this count from the several studies vary so greatly in extent and in quality, that no significant picture is afforded by the data. It is perfectly obvious, however, that a great deal of Association time is spent in the functions of general administration, promotion and money raising, and comparatively little in contacts with members and colleagues on the staff. The business of keeping the machinery going is everywhere an arduous one and in this field North Americans have been particularly successful. Taken as a group, the Foreign Division secretaries impress observers as being of an able and likable type— independent, reliable, resourceful, often very strong-minded, and, in general, possessed of administrative ability. They are active and sociably inclined, fond of outdoor life and sports, but not very strongly developed on the side of cultural interests, and rather cold emotionally. They appear to be endowed with practical common sense more often than with aesthetic tastes, and to be interested in social problems more often than in mystical religious experience. In fact, the rather uncritical enthusiasm developed by many of their number for the foreign cultures with which they come in contact suggests perhaps as much as anything else their essential cultural immaturity.

Obviously men and women of this type are fitted much better for the work of organization and general promotion than for teaching and fostering quiet growth. This conclusion, moreover, is well substantiated by the findings of the several studies.

The work of the Foreign Divisions—and this is distinctly more true of the YMCA than of the YWCA—has been exceedingly successful in erecting the organizational structure of the several movements with which it has cooperated, in establishing valuable connections for them in the various communities, and in securing community recognition. Estimates of the North Americans made by their colleagues or by members of the community—and these remarks apply equally to the YWCA—invariably stress their ability to widen the horizons of the local Associations and to introduce social vision of a significant kind; they do things “in a big way” and their very exuberance, together with their lack of appreciation of “sensibilities,” is often an asset that overrides difficulties of which they had never appreciated the force; furthermore, they are distinguished as organizers and stabilizers; without their assistance the financial resources of the several movements would unquestionably be seriously impaired. Of great significance, indeed, is the fact that nowhere was there encountered an unequivocal majority opinion that all foreigners should leave a given field. On the other hand their qualifications for teaching and nurture are on the whole meager. By common consent of all concerned the function of leadership training is regarded as primarily that of the North Americans. And it is in this field that they have been, on the whole, rather unsuccessful, especially as far as the general and executive secretaries are concerned.

Under this general topic may be included the formal training schools for secretaries, the periodic conferences and summer schools, and the regular staff meetings. Various enterprises of the first named type have been initiated, particularly in the older movements, but many have had to be discontinued, largely for financial reasons. The training schools of both Associations in China, for instance, were not able to weather the storms of revolution, and the YMCA school of Bangalore was closed in 1921. The Madras school for physical education, on the other hand, was opened in 1923 and has had a very creditable history. The YWCA in the same area has made only abortive attempts in this direction, and the survey report stressed the need for

a unified training policy, "particularly for secretaries on local contracts." The most elaborate plan for leadership training of a formal nature is that of the Instituto Tecnico among the YMCAs of Latin America, with headquarters consisting of senior and junior schools at Montevideo, and additional junior schools in Buenos Aires, Rio de Janeiro and Mexico City. The two last named units are to all intents and purposes closed, at the present time, primarily and unfortunately for lack of pupils. The whole experiment, moreover, is exceedingly costly and could not be maintained without large subsidies from North America (a matter of \$40,600 in 1930 but reduced to \$20,000 in 1931). In view of the relatively small number of students and also of the fact that some of the most promising graduates have sought employment outside the Association, a question has been raised as to the validity of continuing the work. When the regional consultants for this area actually suggested its discontinuance to the Continental Committee, however, the reaction from secretaries and laymen alike clearly indicated that the school was central in their hopes and plans for the Association.

National secretaries are sometimes sent to the United States for further study, that is to say, to the YMCA colleges at Chicago and Springfield or to the YWCA school in New York. This latter procedure is exceedingly valuable from the point of view of internationalism, but has been successful only when the students are exceptionally mature and level-headed men and women. The YMCA school in Geneva, Switzerland, has only just begun operations but is apparently commending itself to the movements in Europe and the Near East. In all the schools abroad, the courses or institutes for physical education as conducted by the YMCA, have been by far the most successful.

Among the various summer schools in existence, the joint enterprises carried on by each Association for Latvia and Estonia have had the most continuous history and have received most commendation from those attending them. Various "institutes" conducted by the YMCA for a few weeks or so in Geneva at more or less regular intervals, have also given satisfaction particularly in the field of boys work. The YWCA in

China has been attempting against great odds to accomplish something similar in this line.

Over against this rather discouraging account of what has been done to provide secretaries with professional training must be set the important fact that no need appears to be more consciously felt or definitely expressed by the nationals themselves than precisely this one of further training. It is not for lack of the will to learn that the various schools have not been better attended. This came out strongly in China, where the weakness of the personnel situation has already been stressed. The YMCA report makes the statement:

It is clear that organized and systematic professional or technical training for the secretaryship in China has broken down. Further, there is an insistent demand for its re-organization and actual execution.

As a part of the thorough substantiation of this statement adduced in the report, specific criticisms and requests are cited, made by the Chinese secretaries themselves. A few of these are worth reproducing at this point:

Although there are institutes and summer schools, the results [*i.e.*, grades] are never known to the secretaries concerned, and therefore they do not know their standing in training. Gradually they become disinterested in it, and consequently they do not care very much about training.

There ought to be one year's leave for every secretary who serves the Association for five or six years, and thus enable him to enter an appointed school for further study.

Have more peripatetic classes.

Fix a program for secretaries-in-training.

From my experience I feel that the scheme of training of secretaries is merely a scrap of paper.

There must be proper men in the local Associations to take special charge of studies and courses for the secretaries.

General secretary ought to give systematic training to the new secretaries.

The national committee should request the local YMCA boards to give the secretaries regular furloughs for further education.

Considerably more material of this nature will be found in the China report. The Chinese secretaries voiced not only their desire for training but also their dissatisfaction with the present arrangements with reference both to the quality and usefulness of available courses and to the opportunity to attend even these. Interesting in this connection is the evaluation of the North Americans made by some of the Chinese secretaries in the local Associations. While 36 out of 51 thought the major contribution of the foreigners had been in the field of guidance and training they were as a group rather lukewarm about the quality of the service received. Of a total of 73, more than half said their relationships were only "satisfactory" or "somewhat satisfactory" on the personal side (43, or 59 per cent) and in their work (46, or 63 per cent), while 14 out of 66 definitely said the foreigners had been a hindrance to them. To the question whether they would prefer American assistance in the form of funds for training schools to that of American personnel, 46 out of 67 answered in the affirmative. In view of oriental reticence and courtesy, such remarks are decidedly pointed. In the YWCA such questions were not treated in anything like the same detail, nor was there evidence of anything but cordiality in relationships, but the secretaries there too felt baffled by the vagueness of the work and the consequent lack of practical value in the training methods. "As yet there are no professional standards set for the YWCA," was the sentiment expressed in a small staff meeting in Peiping. "Nobody seems to know what kind of education is necessary."

Although the issue was nowhere else quite so live as in the China YMCA, very much the same feeling was found in other countries. In India, the YMCA secretaries rated the opportunities afforded by the work for personal growth or professional development as only "fairly satisfactory," while the chances for leisure and recreation or for education were "fairly unsatisfactory." In a staff discussion on the need for reopening a training center of some sort, one of the most popular and successful foreign secretaries commented as follows:

From my experience of the training school at Bangalore I have my doubts as to a training school as such, unless it can be run in connection with a large city Association. It is too far removed from reality and practical experience.

At a staff meeting of the same sort in one of the YWCAs in that area one of the foreign secretaries answered the question: "What is the thing you do least well here?" as follows: "We leave all we have to do undone. We have so many good intentions we do not carry out. . . . We are not training people as much as we ought." According to the time studies of the foreign personnel in Japan, the YMCA people spent an average of just over five hours a week in activities that can be grouped as leadership training, namely: "conferring with Japanese secretaries," "staff meetings," "secretarial training" and "assisting Japanese secretaries." The YWCA officers spent only about forty minutes more in these activities. In each case, roughly ten per cent of their time was so spent. At a conference of the former group to discuss the findings of the local study and the general situation in Japan, one man voiced what was manifestly the common sentiment as follows:

I feel that we all agree not only in what we have been saying at this conference, but at other conferences too, that a great deal of our work ought to be spent in what is commonly called secretarial training. You are working side by side with the general secretaries, and the junior secretaries would come in that category, but in addition to that there is a feeling that we can assist by participation in actual secretarial training in the "institutes" or in weekly conference with our staff, or by sitting down with some of the secretaries and talking through problems or something of that kind. That would be one place where we all agree that we ought to be doing something.

The dominant tone of what has been quoted so far on this subject is one of general discontent and bafflement more than anything else. Nationals and foreigners alike know that something ought to be done, that courses should be more practical, and that more time ought to be allowed for training, but there has been little in the way of constructive suggestion. The Chinese

secretaries seem to be reaching toward something more definite when they ask for more traveling classes or that the general secretary undertake more responsibility for staff education. The method of "secretaries-in-training" was not found satisfactory in either China or India because the students were "given tasks to do" rather than invited to participate in solving actual problems. While there are repeated requests for expert assistance from the North Americans, and no little criticism for the lack of expertness in the present representatives of the Foreign Division (each group tends to find fault with the other over this central problem), several suggestions were also encountered to the effect that perhaps it was not so much a question of transferring American methods to the nationals abroad, as it was a matter of working out a common problem together. Some of these suggestions were offered in a spirit of hostility and others with genuine concern for the values at stake. Thus, for instance, one of the Japanese YMCA secretaries felt that "secretaries trained in America cannot say: '*This* is the YMCA.' They must work with the Japanese secretaries to find out this function." And the rather general protest from the Polish staff against the methods of the foreign secretaries voiced itself in such statements as these:

It is very difficult to adapt American methods to Polish conditions. American methods cannot be applied to Polish boys.

The idea that one trains men to be good citizens is very pleasant, but it is very difficult to find the right methods of work.

I have no time for studies and the very little that is left is spent on conferences and lectures of Americans, which are rarely of any value and often teach things which we know already.

Much the same point, though with different emotional coloring, is reflected in the suggestion of an Englishman on the YMCA staff in India:

I am not sure but what general men rather than specialists are wanted. I believe the specialist must be developed in this country. That is the greatest thing. The peculiar problems of our own country forbid the foreign trained specialist.

And one of the YWCA foreign secretaries in China was obviously feeling towards the same thing when she said: "The Chinese secretary in America might learn more of what is adaptable to Chinese life than the American can teach her."

In Latin America the problem is essentially different from that discovered elsewhere. As already indicated the feeling is very marked that the Instituto Tecnico is rendering a very valuable service. One of its professors in Montevideo, a leading educator of Uruguay, sent in a lengthy memorandum in its praise, after the question about closing down had been raised. The tone of this document may be gathered from the following quotation:

To close the Institute would be to decree the stagnation of the YMCA in South America, if not its decline, and it would considerably aggravate the most serious problem confronting the Association in these countries, namely, to find native men prepared to direct it with judgment and success.

The movements in Latin America, however, are very small indeed with only a few local Associations in any one country—never more than three—so that there are relatively few positions available to graduates at the present time and not very bright prospects of expansion in the immediate future. It is for this reason that the junior schools in Rio de Janeiro and Mexico City find themselves without students, and that the local survey commissions strongly favored transforming them into schools of social education, open to the general public. It is indeed a grave question whether the whole plan is not far too elaborate and costly an arrangement for the actual needs of the situation. This is said with due regard for the high estimate of the work being done in Buenos Aires and Montevideo which the national surveys present.

Perhaps the outstanding reason for the lack of success in this matter of leadership training is the want of free intercourse between the two groups. The studies in Japan and China dealt specifically with the question of inter-group contacts and found evidence only of very irregular and occasional social visiting between foreigners and nationals, and of not very much more in

working relationships. The junior officers brought no complaint of inaccessibility against their superiors, whether national or North American, and they said that they could always reach them when they had a definite problem of some kind. But there was apparently no time for long talks together, for the sort of thing, in other words, that the YMCA foreign secretaries of Japan felt they ought to be doing more extensively. Interviews and observations in other parts of the world, especially in India, clearly indicate that this state of affairs is very general.

The outstanding proof of the lack of close and continuous fellowship between the two sets of secretaries, taken as a whole and especially in the older movements, is the emphasis put by both groups on the cultural barrier between them. In Japan and China this tended to take the form of nationalistic pride, especially in the YMCA. The atmosphere in the men's organizations was primarily that of a contest for prestige, for the nationals were willing to get all they could, apparently, of American modernity so long as it did not impair their status. One of the native secretaries put it thus: if the foreigner "is willing to do the work and let others get the credit, he can find plenty to do." In the YWCAs of these countries, more emphasis was put on cultural differences as such. Women are naturally more conservative and more retiring, and possibly the language problem is more actual among them. At any rate they were decidedly more articulate about this. The YWCA survey commission in China, for instance, was almost unanimously of the opinion that the foreign secretaries ought to be required to learn the language, and the nationals in Japan voiced the same feeling. One secretary said that she had worked with six foreign secretaries and got along harmoniously with each "if she understood the Japanese language"; and another: "If America would send money instead of secretaries who have no language and do not understand Japanese ideals it might be better." More definite statements were made by the North Americans themselves, who not only found the language barrier their most serious handicap, but also spoke of their utter lack of preparation with respect to the customs and traditions of the people. In describing the require-

ments for foreign service, as they saw them, these women eloquently passed judgment on themselves, as may be seen in the following statements:

I advocate foreign secretaries who are mentally adaptable to Chinese mores.

Lack of knowledge of local customs, etc., easily makes mountains out of nothing. (China)

The foreign secretary should be sufficiently flexible to build on every new experience; a degree and academic preparation are more important than the understanding of the YWCA program; a fluid personality is essential. (Japan)

We need non-static women who know how to live in a changing world. . . . They should have the spirit of allowing the Japanese to learn by experience, even though they spoil the machinery.

Our overwhelmingness is disconcerting; quiet poise essential; our personal characteristics are more important than what we do. . . . We should never have anyone who has not good social background. (Japan)

In India, the YMCA national secretaries were the ones who felt the situation most acutely, and who were rather unhappy over the prevalent lack of common interests with the foreigners. An outstanding European missionary to India who had formerly been with the Association, thought that "the YMCA had lost greatly because its secretaries have never learned to speak the language of the country." In the YWCA, the problem is naturally not very real at present since the work is largely with Anglo-Indian girls who, of course, speak English. In Europe and Latin America the YMCA secretaries are very articulate on this subject and quite conscious of a cultural superiority over the Americans. Much of what they say about international cooperation, in these areas, would imply that the task of furnishing the organizational efficiency and the necessary funds should be assigned to the North Americans while they themselves introduce the elements of culture and spirituality. This sort of thing was most noticeable in Orthodox countries, but also in Czechoslovakia and Poland, among the university graduates on the staff. In Latin America the natural tendency still is to look to Europe for spiritual and aesthetic inspiration, and to regard Americans as

culturally inferior. This feeling made itself evident within the Association to some extent, especially among the small group of highly educated men on the staff, and is reflected in evaluations by the Mexican commission. The least developed qualities of the North Americans, according to this body, were mastery of the language and sensibility to the national culture. Even in the case of one individual who admittedly knew Spanish and had identified himself with Mexican life, they felt that "his permanent success could not be achieved owing to lack of culture." (This secretary is no longer in the work.) The furlough secretaries of the YWCA from this area, moreover, were almost as eloquent as the foreign staff in Japan in their insistence on greater mental and spiritual adaptability and on greater cultural development as essential prerequisites for service abroad. In the existing situation it becomes at once apparent that there can be only a minimum of give-and-take between the foreigners and the nationals, in the several movements, except in rare instances. Leadership training has on the whole been a formal and somewhat artificial performance.

In closing this discussion, mention must still be made of a general practice that has been developed in some of the older movements abroad, and especially in the YMCA. This has consisted in an attempt to strengthen national leadership by letting certain outstanding individuals in important positions have their own way quite uncritically and become accustomed to getting all they ask for. In the desire not to override national initiative but scant attention has been given to presenting a given situation in as many lights as possible and the tendency has been, as a matter of policy, to consider the national "always in the right." Treatment such as this obviously does not develop real cooperation and is not conducive to the self-respect of either party concerned.

Much has been said in the preceding pages about the less satisfactory aspects of the personnel situation in the several movements. There is, however, a brighter side to the picture. Mention has already been made of the significant fact that the survey nowhere encountered a real desire that the North Ameri-

cans should withdraw altogether. Many did feel—and the foreign secretaries themselves were frequently among these—that the situation would be vastly improved if the foreign staff were drastically reduced. This, of course, was true only in the relatively large movements of the Far East and India; elsewhere the foreign staff is very small if not quite skeletal in proportions. The desire for North American assistance was expressed by the most thoughtful leaders of the several movements, in both Associations, and on two counts over and above what they can contribute in the field of organizational efficiency. In the first place, it was felt that the North Americans had something to contribute from the standpoint of character. As one of the leading Japanese secretaries of the YWCA put it: "The foreign secretaries bring a training of Christian ethics unconsciously that is absolutely unknown in a Buddhist atmosphere such as most of the Japanese girls live in." Much the same thing was expressed by a group of national secretaries in the Turkish "service centers" of the YWCA, while a YMCA leader in China added: "You are so much older in Christianity than we are; we need your help." In less articulate form another Chinese secretary expressed it thus: "We need a foreign secretary, not as a boss, but to give us room to grow and teach us how to take responsibility." In Latin America the same thing was encountered. The business men and leading citizens of these various communities were likewise emphatic about the permanent need for North American moral integrity and reliability.

The second reason grows out of the modern ideal of internationalism. This came to expression, as is perhaps only natural, in the older movements now under national leadership. In spite of the wide-spread discontent over relationships in these areas the dream of a permanent international staff involving exchange secretaryships and aiming at cultural cross-fertilization was almost universally entertained by the most prominent leaders. While some desire to counteract North American "overwhelmingness" may have been reflected in the emphasis on having many nationalities represented on such a staff, there was also a real feeling, apparently, that something would be definitely lost—

something of prestige, it is true, but also something of spiritual value—if the tie with any other country were broken completely. "We would prefer an international staff," said the leading secretary in the Chinese YWCA, ". . . our secretaries get a larger view if they have contact with all groups." A missionary in India who has been conspicuously successful in maintaining relationships, counseled the YMCA there to encourage indigenous control by all means, but added that this was "not so much of an ideal as the maintaining of a fellowship which will include Europeans, Indians and others." At a YMCA staff conference conducted by the India survey the same opinion was expressed as follows:

I hope we will never want to be merely an establishment of Indian and Ceylonese secretaries. . . . One of the glorious things we have here is that we have a body of men, international, all working together in this movement. . . . It would be a distinct loss if we should lose that element of our establishment.

Even in China, where the situation has given so much concern, 24 national YMCA secretaries out of 56 said they were in favor of the permanent presence of foreign secretaries.

In spite of the enormous difficulties revealed throughout the preceding discussion, and the particularly disheartening nature of the problem in movements that call themselves Christian, it is nevertheless impossible not to feel genuine admiration for the sincere devotion and the remarkable degree of self-criticism manifested by the best representatives of all groups, men and women, nationals and foreigners alike. One seems to sense that inherent in the whole tangle there is nevertheless something so magnificent, so supremely worth while, that every effort should be made to develop it and bring it to realization.

CHAPTER IV

THE PROGRAM OF THE ASSOCIATIONS IN THE ENVIRONMENTAL SETTING

THE Association movements here being studied, with varying degrees of intensiveness, consist of 26 autonomous organizations of the YMCA and 15 of the YWCA, exclusive of the cooperating movements in the United States and Canada. They are functioning in 29 different countries scattered all over the world, differing as widely one from another in climate, political status or economic structure as Latvia and South Africa, Greece and India, China and Peru. Yet, for all the colorful multiplicity, certain common factors prevail throughout which are making of the inhabited globe one world community such as has never before been known. Before discussing the program of the Associations in detail, it will be illuminating to inquire briefly into the nature of these factors.

THE GENERAL BACKGROUND

Beginning roughly a century ago, and at first in the countries of northern Europe, those forces were set in motion which Walter Lippmann has aptly called the "acids of modernity." With almost incredible acceleration in the ensuing decades, and with the added tremendous impetus given by the World War, these acids have been swiftly and irresistibly penetrating everywhere, undermining the traditions of centuries, and bringing about new standards of living and doing and thinking, regardless of whether or not the peoples of the earth were in any way ready for such changes.

Possibly the most powerful, certainly the most revolutionary, of these forces has been the unprecedented increase in man's scientific knowledge, during the last hundred years, and his re-

sulting ascendancy over natural forces. The first practical result of this knowledge was the long series of mechanical inventions and technical devices that inaugurated the development known as the Industrial Revolution or, more recently and inclusively, as the Power Age. This new order has been distinctively industrial and commercial. Through the substitution of machines for human labor the output in commodities for those in control has been enormously increased. Consequently, the all-important object both of private scheming and of national diplomacy, especially as far as the western countries are concerned and during the latter part of the nineteenth century, has been first, access to raw material to feed the machines, and then access to markets for their products. As a result of such striving, the ends of the earth have been brought into contact with each other on a scale and to an extent hitherto unknown. Scientific knowledge has been enlisted for the second of the two processes as well as for that of revolutionizing the tools of trade and manufacture. It has brought about an astounding increase in means of communication. By the use of steamships, railroads, automobiles and, most recently, airplanes and airships, travel has been so tremendously expedited that world tours, either for business or pleasure, have become almost a commonplace, while such inventions as the telegraph, cable, telephone, radio, and still or motion picture cameras have made communication possible without moving from one's own doorstep. In fact, to use the words of an American student of modern internationalism, "what science has done, and that in the short space of a century, has been to bring us all together into *one physical neighborhood*." ¹

The energies of commerce and trade have contributed to equally significant changes in other phases of life. By drawing into the main stream of life all those great masses of people who had for centuries lived out their uneventful lives in the small towns and villages of the world, they played into and greatly stimulated another process which had been stirring in Europe for some time. Perhaps the most deeply characteristic and differentiating aspect of modern history has been the rise

¹ John Herman Randall: *A World Community*, p. 21.

and spread of democracy, or the gradual coming to articulate group-consciousness and power of the ordinary people, the world over. The commercial bourgeoisie of Europe was the first to find its voice, and the working classes, especially of the northwestern portions of that continent, were the next in line. By destroying the age-old system of self-sustaining village life and forcing the country people—men, women and children—into the crowded factories and rapidly expanding cities, the Industrial Revolution first ruthlessly uprooted and exploited the workers, and later revealed to them their strength to resist and partially to control the process by combined action. Labor unions and socialist parties of various kinds were the immediate result, and only slightly later came those social and political agitations that may be collectively designated the woman's movement. While, for obvious reasons, the most conspicuous demands voiced in this wide-spread self-assertion have been economic, this is by no means exclusively the case. Indeed, the tendency to associate in the interests of felt needs, of whatsoever nature, may be regarded as a distinguishing trait of modern life, just as the controlling concepts of our latest educational theories include self-expression and group activity. As will be clear from the discussion in this entire report, the Christian Associations are to be thought of—in their origin, activity and aspiration—as an integral part of this whole democratic development.

With the vast outreach of commerce to the ends of the earth, the main features of the Industrial Revolution have likewise been transmitted. Mechanization of labor and urbanization of the population are rapidly taking place in all the leading trade centers and ports of the world. With more or less alacrity, according to circumstances, but with inevitable sureness, old landmarks are everywhere being destroyed as the commercial class advances in importance, labor becomes increasingly self-conscious, and woman assumes a more independent position in the economic and political system. The following quotations bearing on this point are taken from the survey reports and are written by qualified nationals of the several countries:

The proletariat is awakening. . . . The break-up of the village or ancestral home unit because of the migration of men and women workers to the cities is a new and important feature in the social life of China.

The old social obstacles are breaking down [in India] under the pressure of diverse influences, and women taking into their own hands the ordering of their destiny will hasten the process of disintegration and make it more assured.

In independent Poland, the most prominent tendency of working youth is to achieve the ideal of making education more democratic and of developing the social spirit.

The increasing number of Egyptian girls seeking employment and professional training . . . is sufficient indication that the further development of the movement [for national autonomy] will be in changing the economic status of women.

The above selections indicate the range of modern social change; greater detail and elaboration will be found in the background studies of the several national commission reports.

As already indicated in an earlier chapter, the World War served partially to decentralize and redistribute economic control, hitherto largely the prerogative of western—and particularly of Anglo-Saxon—peoples, and to reveal to other national groups their commercial strength and significance. Even as the Napoleonic wars, a century earlier, had transmitted the shock of revolutionary ideas from France to the confines of Europe, and had left the old order more basically insecure than was at first apparent, so also, but on a vaster scale, did the events of 1914-1918 shake to their very foundations some of the oldest and most rigid cultures of the world. The revaluating activity of science, commerce and democracy was thus tremendously accentuated and greatly widened in scope.

One of the most far-reaching effects of this revaluation, and from the point of view of the Christian Associations a most important one, is to be found in the realm of spiritual values. From the preceding paragraphs it will be clear that what the world is witnessing today is not so much a conflict of cultures, as an onslaught by the modern temper on what has been traditional

everywhere. Natural science and democracy have combined to destroy faith in any ancestral order, as such. In the field of religion this has meant emancipation from church control; the ancient religions of China are put to it to maintain themselves, even as is Roman Catholicism in Latin America, or Protestantism in New England. At its Jerusalem meeting of 1928, the International Missionary Council felt that it had more to fear from the world-wide spirit of irreligion than from the opposition of any organized church. As far as moral conduct is concerned, the old social sanctions and restraints are being deprived of their force; the younger generation in Peiping and Seoul are causing as much consternation to their elders as are their contemporaries in Calcutta, Alexandria, Prague, London or New York. Poetry, architecture and music, wherever they are alive and significant today, have felt the impact of modernity. In brief, the whole world of values is being subjected to the new rule of free experimentation and self-expression.

While the spirit of secularism often manifests itself simply in throwing off traditional restraints, it has also a deeper aspect. At its best, it is bound up with the idealism and aspiration of modern times and may be defined, as in the survey reports from India, as "the belief that science can open the door of social hope without religion." Inevitably it is closely allied with the nationalistic pride that has come into play since the war with the realization of a nation's commercial importance. The various peoples and races of the world, and particularly those that had been subject or exploited before 1914, have become intensely aware of their own identity and what they conceive to be their peculiar contribution to the progress of civilization. On account of its close association with commercial expansion, as well as with the scientific and democratic temper of the age, patriotic aspiration has usually expressed itself in terms of material welfare. State socialism in one form or another, together with separation of church and state, has been a marked feature of modern government, especially in those countries that have achieved independence or revised their constitutions in the last ten or fifteen years. Sometimes this spirit takes the form of open

hostility to some organized church, especially where the latter is popularly associated with an alien culture or some form of aggression. This is particularly the case, of course, in so-called "mission" lands and in the newly established states of Europe. Where not identified with nationalism this spirit manifests itself in a passionate social idealism. Patriotism in some form has tended to replace religion in many countries, particularly among the younger people. Qualified and sympathetic observers of conditions in the Far East believe that the power of Soviet ideas over the minds and hearts of the students of China and Japan lies in the social vision held out by these to the down-trodden classes of the world. At the meeting referred to above, the International Missionary Council, while deploring the existence of secularism, nevertheless conceded to many of its followers a "disinterested pursuit of truth and of human welfare."²

The nationalism just referred to is essentially modern in quality. That is to say, it is sensitive to a fault on the subject of self-determination. Public behavior in the several countries suggests that, for all the pride in national heritage, there is little primary concern for indigenous culture patterns, except in the negative form of protecting them against external aggression. Thus, in Greece, much insistence was encountered from lay people on the rights and authority of the national church, who at the same time showed little interest in the institution once these rights were acknowledged. Furthermore, interviews with leading citizens the world over revealed a genuine desire among them for all that "western" science and invention could make available to their respective peoples, provided they be left to make the selection themselves, on their own terms and at their own pace. Reflections of this spirit were not wanting among the Christian Associations. The most ardent enthusiasts for indigenous cultures in both movements were, generally speaking, the North American secretaries; what the nationals were eager for, on the other hand, was a chance to run things themselves.

Suggestive evidence of the real concern of modern national-

² *The World Mission of Christianity*; messages and recommendations of the enlarged meeting of the International Missionary Council at Jerusalem, 1928, p. 14.

ism is to be found in the way it expresses itself in actual practice. As already indicated, state socialism in some degree or manner is an outstanding feature of the newer governments. In addition, there is a wide-spread tendency to emphasize the assimilation of such heterogeneous groups as may exist within a given country. Thus, in Mexico, the government has launched a determined campaign against the illiteracy of the extensive local Indian population, as the first step in welding them and their traditions into the national structure. Again, in Turkey, political leaders are looking to and planning for the day when the name "Turkish citizen" shall supersede all national designations within the population. In carrying out these and similar plans, it is usual to canvass the latest methods and techniques in use elsewhere, and to appropriate those that commend themselves most. Prominent among such plans for reconstruction and reorganization has been the emphasis on agrarian reform. Among the newly constituted states of Europe, those that possessed a large landed gentry or nobility before the war have redistributed their estates to the farmers. Ardent patriots like Gandhi and Tagore in India, or James Yen in China, are constructing plans for the future of their people with the village as their point of attack, while government agencies and social thinkers in Korea and Egypt, to mention the most conspicuous examples, recognize in the farming population their most urgent problem. It is by no mere coincidence that the two YMCA movements that have undertaken extensive projects in rural reconstruction, to be described later, should be located in the two countries most powerfully charged with the spirit of thwarted nationalism—India and Korea.

From the considerations adduced so far two general conclusions will perhaps be clear. In the first place, forces appear to be at work in the world at large that are basically reconstructing what has been the established order, following similar lines in the several countries; secondly, these forces are operating in apparently opposite directions. While the outreach of commerce is promoting urbanization and internationalism, patriotism is emphasizing national autonomy and increasing in-

terest in village life. Furthermore, and curiously enough, while the latter spirit is acutely aware of itself, the former is very largely still unconscious. That commerce actually has established a world community, inextricably interdependent, is a fact few historians or economists would dispute; but that the average citizen of most countries is ignorant of the fact is even more obvious. In the words of a French economist:

Whether for clothes or food, for work or pleasure, we are all dependent upon every other country under the sun today. We cannot make a gesture without displacing some object that has come from the most remote region; and conversely, every important event on the surface of the globe finds its echo in our daily life. *Modern man is truly a citizen of the world. But he is completely unaware of this fact.* And herein lies the tragedy of our time and the cause of all the turmoil of the post-war age from which a means of escape has yet to be devised.³

It is this blindness to the situation and a consequent narrowness in the spirit of nationalism, that accounts for the existing but actually very superficial opposition of the two tendencies. Probably there never was a time when it was more obviously impossible than at present for any group to live richly and significantly unto itself alone. It is now recognized that modern nationalism cannot maintain itself without international cooperation any more than commerce can continue without agriculture, or cities without villages. A well known student of nationalism and its problems says: "Internationalism will never replace nationalism. Each exists because the other is. One cannot be understood without the other."⁴

While the processes here sketched are universal, introducing the same basic problems and conditions, as economic pressure inevitably forges the world community, it would nevertheless be totally erroneous to conclude from the above discussion that every nation today faces exactly the same situation. To be sure, in the long run, this may be true, but the nations do not change at a uniform rate. Differences in cultural heritage, in geographic

³ Francis Delaisi: *Political Myths and Economic Realities*.

⁴ Herbert Adams Gibbons: *Nationalism and Internationalism*, p. 269.

environment, in economic status and in national temperament are sufficiently great to make of each situation a particular and even a unique case. The capacity for group devotion on a large scale, possessed by the Japanese and Teutonic nations, for instance, differentiates them from the Chinese or Latin peoples, and conditions their reaction to social problems. The newly established states of Europe and the Near East, still in the process of feeling and asserting their independence, are psychologically at the other end of the scale from Great Britain and the other "powers" which had substantially set the standards and controlled the resources of the world before the war. The economic problems of agrarian, isolated Korea are not identical with those of industrialized Germany, nor are either of them with those of Mexico or Venezuela, countries rich in mineral resources, largely exploited by foreign capital. With all the individual variation, however—and within each country there is of course multiple diversification—there is one far-reaching line of cleavage which, so far as the immediate present is concerned, still radically divides the peoples of the earth into two distinct groups. The differentiating principle is essentially economic, but it has significant cultural and psychological components; it classifies the nations as belonging to the "old" or the "new" world, and the essence of it is expressed in the word "opportunity."

The relative density of population in various areas throws light on the point in question. While the bulk of the world's population, associated with its most ancient civilizations, is concentrated and packed into the most fertile and accessible sections of Asia and Europe, there are on the continents of America, Africa and Australia enormous reaches of virgin territory and vast reservoirs of potential wealth in the form of mineral stores and arable land. Translated into human terms this means that, in certain parts of the world, the forms of life have been hitherto relatively fixed and predetermined by age-old socio-economic conditions, while in others there is practically free outlet for experimentation and expansion. Traditions in one part of the globe have the weight of centuries behind them, while in other areas they are still almost in the first stages of creation.

To be sure, it is only a question of time before the two "worlds" encounter and modify each other. This is already taking place in some countries, especially in central Europe and the Near East. What is more, even the most populous and ancient civilizations the world has ever known, those of China, Japan and India, have as already indicated felt the all-pervading influence of the "acids of modernity." Moreover, in this day and age when science is so drastically reversing traditions, there is no reason to suppose that the same conditions that have controlled forms of life in the past will continue to do so in the future. It may well be that the Power Age will open up new fields to the pioneer and adventurer within the most physically restricted and burdened areas. The oldest and most tradition-ridden civilization may be among the first to crack. The point to be emphasized is this: any assumption that the economic and cultural individualism of the West is normative for world progress in the future is quite gratuitous. The young men and women of the "old" world are not now, and probably never will be, confronted with the same prospects that now lie before their contemporaries of the "new" world. Their "opportunity" must in all probability be evolved in a very different way from that which the economic individualism of the West has prescribed. A passage from the India survey report is illuminating in this connection:

Students of eastern conditions need to remind themselves that western religion and ethics and western institutions were worked out in the presence of an ever-expanding frontier. . . . Western education with impunity stimulates the "climbing instinct" in youth, and has always been able to find easy access to some undeveloped country where individualism had a chance. Western reform advocates are liable to forget all this when they face an old civilization where the pressure on the land has already reached the maximum and the chance for migration is limited. Such conditions may call for a reassessment of every theory of every institution. . . .

For further discussion of this point reference is made to the sections of the survey report just quoted dealing with social background and to the first volume of the area report for Latin America.

Enough has been said, perhaps, at this juncture to make clear the nature of the most outstanding environmental conditions which are influencing the work of the two Christian Associations, and which must not be ignored or minimized if the movements are to continue as significant forces. It may not be inappropriate to conclude with a statement by a student of present world conditions which is not without importance for international agencies dedicated to character values:

Deeper than all schemes of reorganization, all new social programs, all economic readjustments, all creeds of the modernists, the one fact that stands forth above the confusion and uncertainty of our times is the realization that this world *must* achieve a kind of unity that has never yet existed. It *must* find the way to a cooperation that man has never yet known. It *must* create a fellowship between races and nations and classes and creeds that has never yet been experienced. This is no longer a matter of choice but of the sternest necessity; the grim logic of events demands it.⁵

THE OLDER APPROACH TO CHARACTER BUILDING

As described in Chapter I, the program by which the North American movements gained their strength and which was transmitted abroad by the secretaries of their Foreign Divisions, was that associated primarily with the name of Robert McBurney, of New York, and known as the "four-fold" program. It aimed to minister to the whole man and the whole woman, rather than exclusively to their religious needs, and to develop them intellectually, physically and socially as well as spiritually in the more restricted sense. To this end buildings were erected, of which the old structure at Twenty-third Street, New York City, was the first, equipped with gymnasias, swimming pools, libraries, reading and social rooms, large halls for meetings, classrooms, dormitories and cafeterias. With the rise of the professional secretary, trained experts with staffs of assistants were put in charge of the several departments of work and an elaborate administrative structure was built up.

This type of work was characteristically the product of urban

⁵ John Herman Randall: *A World Community*, p. 71.

life and has had its roots in the commercial element of the population. It came into being, both in London and in New York, avowedly to counteract the temptations of city life and to deal with the essential needs of young men and women who had left country homes to take their places in business. The young people attracted to the buildings of the Associations here studied were seen to belong largely to this element. The lay leadership of the boards and committees is drawn mainly from the same group and, as will appear in the next chapter, the financial support of the several movements likewise comes from this element in society. In the deeply characteristic need, appearing so spontaneously, of their members the world over to *associate*, and in the democracy and laicism of most of these movements, they were part of the general modern tendency towards group action for self-expression. This tendency, as already indicated, has found its most effectual outlet thus far in the activities of the business world.

According to the prevailing educational theory of the times, the first attempt made by the Association movements to reach the individual as a whole was by means of separate activities designed to meet his several needs. This approach has been definitely modified in the course of time, but since the bulk of the work abroad is still highly departmentalized, it will be most convenient to discuss it, in the first instance, section by section.

Religious Work

In the field of religious education, formally defined, the programs of the Christian Associations, in the countries under consideration, are very limited. Religious departments, as such, are nowhere very strong and are generally on the decrease so far as attendance is concerned. With few exceptions, Bible classes are not very popular, and in many places have been given up altogether. Discussion groups, on the other hand, have been more successful, while really significant results are being achieved in some instances with public lectures and debates. The one program feature in this field which is apparently observed by all Associations in both movements is the annual "Week of Prayer."

This state of affairs is partly due to lack of interest or to nationalistic antagonism on the part of the general membership, in other words, to the spirit of secularism, the influence of which is likewise felt among the Associations of North America. It is also due in part to definite policy when dealing with a locally dominant non-Protestant branch of the Christian church, or to actual necessity as imposed by government regulation.

B The adaptations to the local situation vary considerably in the several movements. In Roman Catholic countries, for instance, there are three rather distinct methods of operating. In Italy and Portugal, as far as the YMCA is concerned, there are in existence older movements of the aggressively Protestant type as well as the newer work promoted since the war from North America and appealing largely to a Catholic constituency. Without the official backing of either church, an attempt is being made in both countries to weld the two movements together on the basis of mutual understanding. Considerable statesmanship is being displayed in this undertaking, with promising results. This is particularly true in Italy, where Protestants and Catholics are associated in almost equal numbers on the same staffs in Rome and Turin, and where the survey observers were impressed with the real appreciation of the spiritual values in Catholicism evinced by the Protestant secretaries. In Poland, on the other hand, the YMCA is dominantly Roman Catholic, is making no attempt to conciliate or cooperate with the local *Verein* movement in the German population, and has adjusted itself to the theory that the Roman Catholic clergy has the sole right to give religious instruction in the formal sense.

In Latin America and in the Philippines the situation for both Associations is somewhat different from either of those described above. As in Poland, however, there is no attempt to fraternize with such other movements as may exist locally; there is a German *Verein* in Buenos Aires, for instance, related to the German and World YMCAs but not to the Argentine movement fostered by North America, which is also related to the World Alliance. But the chief emphasis of the Latin American Associations is not on conciliating either Protestants or Catholics, or on

bringing them together, so much as on trying to reach those young people in each country who do not feel themselves vitally drawn to any organized church. In this field the YMCA has been the more successful so far, through the work of such men as Navarro Monzo, John Mackay and others of this unusual caliber. Through its regular Sunday afternoon lectures on religious topics, for instance, the Buenos Aires YMCA brings some 250 people together weekly, and has become "a center of attraction on cultural lines for social groups of standing in the community."⁶ On the whole, however, the programs of the YMCA and YWCA in these countries are not centered about specifically religious work. Moreover, their studied neutrality and vagueness with respect to theological controversy and ecclesiastical differences has earned for them, to a considerable degree, the distrust of many church bodies, as such, Protestant and Catholic alike.

In Orthodox countries there is a better understanding, on the whole, with the ecclesiastical hierarchy than is generally true in the countries just discussed. In Greece both Associations recognize the same principle with respect to the Orthodox Church as does the Polish YMCA with respect to the Church of Rome. Much the same thing can be said of the Bulgarian YMCA, but there is a more intimate relationship in that country between the Association and the church, through the personal friendship and interest of several outstanding Orthodox leaders. The Protestants, on the other hand, who were once dominant in the Bulgarian YMCA, appear to share the feeling of similar circles in Latin America that they have been abandoned in favor of the majority group. In Paris, among the Russian *émigrés*, there are even greater harmony and religious fellowship between the Protestant American secretaries and the Orthodox leaders. The latter have also established working relationships with the Anglican Church and the British Student Christian Movement, while certain of their number have been meeting informally for several years with French Catholic and Lutheran Protestant clergymen to discuss philosophy and theology together.

In Czechoslovakia, Esthonia and Latvia, where there exists

⁶ Survey Report on Argentina.

an acute "minority" problem, nationalistic in nature, sincere efforts have been made to foster an interconfessional attitude. As was shown in the analyses of membership and personnel, the minority groups are well represented within the Associations, and these are encouraged to look to their own national churches for religious inspiration. This spirit is particularly active in Czechoslovakia where some public success has been achieved by means of lectures, open debates on religious questions, and especially by means of the monthly magazine, *The Christian Review*, now in its fourth year and the only periodical in the country dedicated to moral and religious questions considered from an interconfessional point of view. The position of the YMCA in Czechoslovakia, in this matter, is set forth in the national survey report as follows:

In this time of heated religious controversies the YMCA was organized as a Christian movement. It is not a church and does not wish to be one. However, it lays emphasis on religious life as definitely as the Protestant churches or the new Czechoslovak Church. Moreover, the YMCA emphasizes the necessity of an active Christianity and, unlike the Protestant churches and the Czechoslovak Church, is tolerant towards Catholicism. At the same time it has more understanding for social and international problems than the churches and brings into the intellectual life of Czechoslovakia a spirit of peace and cooperation.⁷

In non-Christian countries the Associations are subject to no formal restrictions from the outside except in Turkey, where public instruction in any religion is not permitted except by each church or specifically religious agency for its own constituency. In that country all institutions are required to work under permits of some sort which define and delimit their activities; the YMCA, accordingly, is operating as a "club," and the YWCA project, having through misunderstanding of a technical point failed to secure similar status, is functioning as a "school" under the supervision of the ministry of public instruction. Neither Association is able to conduct a formal program of religious

⁷ Survey Report on the YMCA in Czechoslovakia.

work. There is, however, evidence that, not only in Turkey but throughout the Near East and Egypt, the same spirit prevails, especially among the staff members of the several Associations, that is working for interconfessional understanding in the Baltics and Czechoslovakia.

In the remaining non-Christian countries, there is hardly more of a formal religious program actually in operation than in the other countries surveyed. One of the most interesting projects in this field is still largely in preparation: the Cairo Central YMCA is hoping to use public forums as an instrument for furthering goodwill and understanding between different faiths, along the lines already working successfully in some parts of Czechoslovakia. In the words of the senior secretary:

We believe the time is not far distant when the YMCA platform can be open to thoughtful, scientific presentation of the values found in the different religions practiced in Egypt. For instance, a lecture on Bahaim is now being arranged.⁸

In the Far East, more especially in China, reaction against organized religion, as such, has been particularly strong. According to a Chinese authority on the subject,

during the last five years not only has the number of people frequenting the temples to burn incense considerably decreased, but also we notice the gradual and almost complete abandonment of the amusements which were once identified with religion. . . . Of the three traditional religions in China—Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism—none is virile today.⁹

The prevalent, rather heated anti-Christian feeling may be diagnosed, then, as part of the general revulsion from all religion, augmented by nationalistic hostility to "foreign" institutions, as such. In the face of this situation neither Association, with the exception of two or three local YMCAs, has been able to do much with specifically religious programs, and such work is largely going by default not only in China, but in Japan, Korea and most of India as well.

⁸ Survey Report on Egypt.

⁹ Survey Report on the YWCA in China.

E. There are, however, among the YMCA movements here studied three areas where specifically religious work is central in the program and where the religious atmosphere is sufficiently strong to characterize the undertakings in the public mind. These are the little YMCAs of South India among the villages of Travancore, the work for the Bantu students in the mission schools of South Africa, and the work of the Russian Student Christian Movement in Paris. Much attention is given in all three to study of the Bible and other religious literature, discussion of spiritual problems, and meetings for prayer and devotion. It is noteworthy, moreover, that in all three cases a definite outlet for religious enthusiasm is cultivated in social service.

The part played in the general situation above described by nationalistic feeling is by no means inconsiderable. Wherever there is one traditional national religion there is a marked tendency to identify it with the national culture. In the European movements, notably in Greece and Poland, the adaptation has often been made to national pride quite as much as to the local church. The spiritual ardor of the Russians in Paris is deeply interfused with devotion to a specifically Russian culture which they feel to be threatened with extinction. The interreligious problem in Turkey, the Near East and Egypt is inextricably bound up with that of the relations of nationality groups within each country. Protestantism is associated with Anglo-Saxon aggression not only in India and the Far East but also in the countries of Latin America. This is interestingly reflected in the obvious suspicions entertained by the Turkish gentleman who was asked to report on the educational work of the Istanbul YMCA. It was quite apparently difficult for him to accept the purposes of the Association at their face value. Added to the conflict over religion and the conflict over nationality is that arising out of economic aggression. In fact, the Associations are perhaps as much under suspicion abroad on the ground that they are the vanguard of American business penetration as they are on the ground that they are proselytizing agents of the Protestant churches. The outstanding example of this unwarranted identification of the Associations, in the public mind, with "economic

imperialism" is in Latin America. The regional consultants for that area repeatedly encountered the suggestion that the Association movements were being financed by the government and "big business" interests of the United States for ulterior purposes. As a prominent Brazilian priest observed:

It is well known that the cry against "American Imperialism" was not voiced in Brazil until recently when the activities of the YMCA began to attract the attention of the country. I do not mean to put the entire blame on the YMCA, but it certainly shares a large responsibility in the affair. The YMCA is thus looked upon as a serious hindrance to inter-American goodwill.¹⁰

It will be noted, of course, that these difficulties and problems of adjustment are encountered by the leadership of the Associations, lay and professional, rather than by the general membership. The majority of the latter in all likelihood know very little about them. This means, of course, that the most ardent patriots and many of the most serious religious thinkers, particularly in the East, simply are not drawn to the Associations. The student work, which formerly attracted such spirits, as a matter of fact, in both movements the world round is at a very low ebb today and this in spite of the fact that the pronouncements and decrees of the Holy See against the Associations have had very little effect on the several city membership enrollments in Catholic countries.¹¹ Neither the YMCA nor the YWCA, in the countries here studied, have found themselves more than externally and superficially embarrassed by these restrictions. These facts, as well as many others presented in this report, indicate that the real genius of the movements is hardly in the field of formal religious work.

The average North American secretary, in fact, no longer uses the old methods of religious education effectively and has as yet not developed many other techniques to take their place. The most constructive and significant new developments along this line are in connection with work for boys and girls, and will con-

¹⁰ Survey Area Report on Latin America.

¹¹ This applies, of course, to the religious aspect of student work outside the Associations as well as that affiliated with them.

sequently receive attention in a later section of this chapter. But very little is being developed, apparently, to deal adequately with the deeper religious problems of maturer people. For in spite of secularism and its materialistic outlook, and in spite of the general reaction of many idealists against authoritarianism and organized religion, there is also a very wide-spread and genuine interest in the principles and ethics of Jesus and a good deal of homeless spiritual yearning. Many countries, furthermore, report an accentuation of such feeling in very recent times and a certain amount of disillusion over the possibilities in science. The Barthian viewpoint, reflected somewhat in the older European YMCAs, not here studied in detail, is one such indication, and the survey area report on Latin America adduces interesting evidence of certain local stirrings of a spiritual nature within Catholicism as well as among intellectuals outside confessional circles. In the Far East, even in China, the regional consultants attributed the demoralization of religious work "more to internal causes than to social hostility." This they emphasized particularly in Japan, where they also reported Christian ethics, as distinguished from the Christian church, to be "wide-spread and influential." In the YMCA the lack of unity and vitality in the religious program was attributed to the difference in viewpoint between the staff and the lay leadership. A more fundamental criticism was voiced in connection with the YWCA by an observer otherwise favorably impressed with the work, and is perhaps indicative of the general immaturity in this field of both Associations in the movements here studied:

If Christianity has gained ground so slowly, it is not so much that the Japanese are not interested as that we, as religious educators, have offered them nothing, as far as the YWCA is concerned. . . . Too often has emotion been confused with religious experience in Japan by YWCA secretaries.

Physical Education

Easily the most spectacular aspect of the program and the one by which it is usually best known to the public is physical education. Where the Associations have large buildings, and

this is notably more true of the YMCA than of the YWCA, gymnasia and swimming pools are usually the chief features. Physical activities rank high in popularity with the general membership, particularly in the countries of Europe and Latin America, where they constitute the chief reason for joining the Associations. This is moreover the field in which, when all aspects of the work are taken into consideration, the North Americans have made their most conspicuous and peculiar contribution to Association theory and practice throughout both world movements.

The outstanding features of this work, as promoted from North America, have been the arousing of public opinion with regard to the importance of physical education; an emphasis on sportsmanship and team-play; the presentation of an ideal of physical and moral health; and the insistence on physical recreation as a necessary part of general development all through life. Classes and games for older people and children, as well as for young men and women, are characteristic of the program. The YMCA has been more spectacular in its methods, because it is the larger and better financed organization, and also because the appeal of such work to men is more immediate than to women, but the YWCA has been working persistently in the same direction in a quieter way.

So far as the YMCA is concerned, the first decades of the twentieth century saw impressive developments in this field among the movements first sponsored by the Foreign Division. Beginning with local demonstrations, and proceeding chiefly by means of competitive sports and public health campaigns, the scope of the work was soon enlarged, especially in the five or six years immediately preceding the World War, to include city-wide, then province- or nation-wide, activities which eventually culminated in international competitions. Olympic contests were arranged with marked success among the countries of the Far East—teams were sent from Japan, the Philippines and different parts of China—and also among the several constituent members of the Indian Empire. Similar success attended the work of the YMCA in Latin America after the war, and, on a less elaborate

scale, in Europe. Athletic programs were of course not unknown in these countries before the advent of the YMCA, notably in Europe and wherever British influence is felt. There has been, moreover, an increased interest in physical culture during the last thirty years or so throughout the world quite apart from Association endeavor, but the organization and leadership of the YMCA stood ready to capitalize this rising interest and to direct it into new and wider channels of usefulness.

Outside observers and YMCA physical directors themselves in appraising this work lay stress on the extent to which the ideal of health and play has been proclaimed to the people as a whole. The physical departments have conceived of their mission as pertaining to the nation rather than as confined to the Association building. The following typical examples quoted from the survey reports will illustrate this point:

The greatest contribution which the "Y" has made in physical education in India has been in service rendered to Government in developing programs in schools and colleges throughout entire provinces, in introducing the idea of public playgrounds and getting them started in various cities; in training indigenous leadership to carry on these various bits of work; . . .

The Association [in the Philippines] saw that if it could create a program which would be acceptable to the Bureau of Education, through the schools, it could develop a belief in recreation, a spirit and a program having as its aim "play for everybody" which would reach the nation at large. . . . Within a few years 95 per cent of the boys and girls of the schools were taking part daily in organized play and recreation. . . . The Association furnished the leadership, spirit and ideas which were carried out with the cooperation of the government.

The Association, through introducing new and progressive methods has, in a way, taken the lead in developing physical work. . . . Officials in Japan are now placing emphasis on this subject and planning future developments.

Undoubtedly the Associations have been the organizations that have taken the most interest in awakening sport activities [in Mexico].

The YMCA [of Uruguay] has popularized physical exercises and

the practice of rhythmic gymnastics. . . . It has also created a new conception of what physical activities really are.

Further evidence may be cited as, for example, the fact that the first technical adviser to the Uruguayan national commission on physical education was an American YMCA secretary, to whose influence the phenomenal development of playgrounds in Montevideo and throughout the Republic is largely attributed; or the fact that the sport organizations of Argentina turned to the YMCA for leadership in training their entrants to the official world Olympian games. The graduates of Association training schools in Latin America and India occupy leading positions in the government undertakings for public health and recreation, and in the schools, colleges and missions as well as in the Association branches themselves. The Madras School of Physical Education is cited in the Indian Year Book for 1929, as "perhaps the outstanding institution for the training of such leaders [*i.e.*, playground and physical directors] in India."

There is, however, a reverse side to the picture. The brilliant achievements in the East were accomplished largely at the expense of the local Associations. In India the leadership in this field has been dominantly North American and a real beginning with indigenous physical directors is only now being made. Says the India report:

In any case, whether the Associations now have, or have had, either type of leadership [*i.e.*, foreign or Indian], the major portion of the work has been for the community at large, and very little if any work exclusively for YMCA members.

In spite of this state of affairs, however, most branches were found to be properly equipped and well attended. In Japan, on the other hand, interest in physical activities, although these were well established, was apparently lukewarm: the equipment of the Tokyo YMCA was the only one in constant use. In China, the physical work was considerably demoralized and this largely because there was little conviction as to its value among local leaders. One of the North Americans felt that the building pro-

grams had been "sacrificed to stunts and community work" so that when retrenchment became necessary, the physical departments "had no chance." The personnel were transferred to schools and colleges where they are said to be still doing effective work. An exception to this rather general condition is afforded by Manila, where daily classes and group games are held in the Association's five swimming pools, four gymnasia and liberal accommodations for tennis and outdoor recreation.

Furthermore, there are strong indications that the YMCA is fast losing its ascendancy in physical work while other agencies are coming forward to occupy the same field. In India, the YMCA held an official or semi-official relationship with the several governments as adviser in physical education; but, while this is still true to some extent and notably in the Madras Presidency, its old leadership has been definitely challenged since the war, "due generally to Government's wanting more service than the Association could give."¹² In Turkey the present survey had one of its unfortunately rare opportunities to secure expert appraisal of program. An American specialist, resident in Istanbul, was engaged to study the physical work of the local YMCA, and he came to the conclusion that "unless the Association is jealous of its leadership, it will soon be a follower instead of a leader in this section of the world, as regards its physical department."

In Japan, the government has so thoroughly committed itself to the cause of physical education that there seems to be little reason for the YMCA to continue promoting a "nation-wide" program. Inasmuch as the training given at present in all the schools, for girls and boys alike, is of the old-fashioned, regimented drill type, with physical efficiency as its primary aim, it is obvious that there still is great need for the character-building emphasis of the Associations. This is, however, clearly an intensive, long-time piece of work rather than the sort of thing that can be demonstrated to the public on a mass basis.

Perhaps the most thoroughgoing challenge in this field comes from the Latin American countries, where athletics and physical

¹² Survey Report on India.

activities have literally taken the public by storm. In the first place, the governments there also are actively fostering physical education; there are national commissions for such work in Uruguay, Chile, Argentina, Mexico and Peru, while in Brazil a law has been under consideration which would place all local athletic enterprise ultimately under the supervision and financial control of the ministry of war. Furthermore, large industrial concerns are establishing extensive recreation fields for their employees, notably in Buenos Aires. The most formidable rivals of the YMCA in Latin America, however, are the palatial athletic clubs that are rapidly developing there. An outstanding example is afforded by the Club Nacional de Gimnasia y Esgrima of Buenos Aires, with magnificent equipment and a membership of over 18,000 persons of all ages and both sexes. For approximately the same admission fees as those of the local YMCA access is had to facilities described by the survey area report as follows:

This club offers the opportunity of engaging in almost every sport known in the Argentine. It has a model playground for children, gymnasiums for men and women, twenty or more tennis courts, a large number of football fields, an immense outdoor swimming pool, a roller skating rink, fencing floor, etc. Among the sports cultivated by the organization are boxing, fencing, football, general athletics, hurling, jiu-jitsu, tennis, wrestling, swimming, water-polo, roller skating, handball, Rugby football, etc., etc.

Other noteworthy clubs of this kind are to be found in Cuba, where the Asturias Club of Havana offers its membership even a wider range of privileges at nominal cost, including libraries, educational classes for their children, and hospital service. Furthermore, on account of their avowed nationalistic and secular character, these organizations are not liable to the same embarrassments that confront the YMCA and they make a readier appeal to the public. Finally, their statements of purpose, printed in the regular publicity booklets, make it very clear that if the Association has a special contribution to make in this field different from that of other organizations it will have to make a demonstrable case for it. The motto of the club in Buenos Aires, just

described, for instance, is "*mens sana in corpore sano*" and the first paragraph of its two or three pages of "aims" reads as follows:

To inculcate and defend love of country, self-denial, protection of the weak, help of the helpless, respect for authority, the brotherhood of man, the cult of honor, the training of the intellect, and in general all that can conduce to stability and social well-being.

The regional consultants for this area found abundant evidence in their interviews of the high regard in which the YMCA is held with respect to physical education, and of the part it is acknowledged to have played in stimulating the interest which is so great at present. The distinctive contribution of the Association is widely thought to be in its emphasis on character building and particularly in developing sportsmanship and harmonious group activity. An outstanding civil servant in Mexico stated that his reason for supporting the local YMCA was that he saw in it "a potent agency" for effecting "the art of working and playing together." The conclusion of the area report, in respect to the rôle of the Association in this field, was, however, as follows:

Perhaps one should say that the principles and methods of the YMCA have been, up to the present time, the standard in South America, but that from now on these standards may presumably be set by other organizations, especially in equipment and in new methods of carrying on work for both sexes under one roof, unless it is able to diminish the antagonism prevailing towards the movement in many cities as a Protestant and foreign institution.

The general impression derived from all the considerations adduced thus far is that the YMCA has been notably successful in the promotional phase of physical education but has evinced little aptitude for the slower and ultimately more fundamental educational processes. It has been able to challenge public opinion magnificently with an idea and to set up the machinery for realizing that idea. Through its public health campaigns it has done notable service in calling attention to existing evils of sanitation

and misuse of the body. Its part in the anti-opium movement is publicly acknowledged in China, and it is given credit for demonstrated effectiveness in Rio de Janeiro as an agent for bringing about official action in connection with a yellow fever epidemic. The rising interest in public recreation centers and playgrounds, found in many of the newer countries of the world, is an American idea transmitted in outstanding fashion by Association secretaries. Moreover, wherever the YMCA has been active, it has left certain American games as a permanent contribution to the national social life. Among these, volley-ball and basketball are the most conspicuous examples, though handball too has made its mark; baseball, curiously enough, has seldom found acceptance. But it is also abundantly clear that the time has now come seriously to reexamine methods and emphases in physical education.

The YWCA, as already indicated, has never been in a position to operate a physical work program on the scale set by the men. Limitations of equipment and of financial resources have largely prevented conspicuous public gestures, and the shyness and inhibitions of the women and girls with whom the Association has worked have kept it to a slower pace. As a result, the YWCA has developed a different approach to physical work which rather sharply distinguishes its program from that of the YMCA. Competitive teams, as organized units, are not encouraged so much and greater emphasis is put on a more general participation in diversified group activities. The aim is to secure physical self-expression for the individual girl, in more or less free companionship with her fellows, rather than to capitalize group loyalties in welding team members into a unit. The YWCA physical directors of the younger group—for this whole conception of health education, as they prefer to call it, has been developed in the last ten years or so—lay greater stress, apparently, than do the men on hygiene talks and instruction in the care of the body. One reason for this, no doubt, is the fact that most women and girls have more to learn in this regard than their brothers, especially in non-Christian countries. Like the YMCA, and sometimes in cooperation with it, the YWCA has also carried on public

health campaigns to some extent. It likewise works through schools, churches and hospitals as well as in its buildings. The general program, however, while an integral and growing part of the work, is as yet not very extensive. On the whole, since most of the YWCAs here studied are small organizations with relatively little in the way of equipment, and since the distinctive methods of health education are just beginning to make themselves felt, there is not very much actual achievement as yet by which to gauge the Association's work. But there is enough conviction and clear purpose in the minds of the best representatives of the work to arouse sympathetic interest and expectation with regard to future developments.

Formal Education

The distinguishing characteristic by which the YMCA is publicly known in South India, South Africa and among the Russians in Paris, is spiritual earnestness expressed both in religious culture and social service. In Europe, India, the Philippines and Latin America, the YMCA is known primarily for its work in physical education, and the YWCA is increasingly coming to share this reputation. In the Far East, however, both Associations are primarily regarded as schools. With the prestige of learning what it is today and what it has been historically in the East, this was the one phase of the program that did not have to be "sold" to the public against social prejudice. Furthermore, the educational work of the Chinese Associations showed least of all departments the effects of political and economic upheaval.

The heart, and the most permanent features, of the educational programs of both Associations everywhere are the commercial and language courses. In Europe, there has been a tendency in the YMCA to develop trade schools also. The work is fundamentally and somewhat naively responsive to the needs of urban business life and neither Association has shown any aptitude for developing the possibilities of the situation. The classes are loosely organized to meet a given need as it arises and are seldom coordinated in any way. With very few exceptions, notably in

the YMCA in Rio de Janeiro and the YWCA "service centers" of Turkey, the libraries maintained by the Associations are meager and out-of-date, having been collected often from donations of friends out of their own surplus. There is as a result a preponderance of fiction in English which is seldom read by the members. Reading rooms, on the other hand, are well equipped with leading journals and periodicals, especially in the YMCA, and are in frequent use. While the YWCAs of Esthonia, the "service centers" of Turkey and the Russian Correspondence School of the YMCA, to be described later, have good records in regard to finding occupations for their pupils, very little placement is reported from other Associations and practically nothing is being attempted anywhere in the field of scientific vocational guidance. The informal lectures on various cultural subjects or topics of current interest, on the other hand, which are given regularly by most Associations as supplementary activities in the field of education, draw a good attendance and win popular approval.

The richest educational programs have been developed, as already indicated, in the Far East. In Japan the available facilities of the YMCA are heavily taxed, especially in the industrial city of Osaka, and fully half the educational program in the seven local Associations studied consists of instruction in English. The primary activity of the YWCA is in the same general field, and it is interesting to note that a questionnaire to lay leaders, employed staff, and the general membership brought an emphatic vote against the existing classes in "accomplishments," such as music, singing, flower arrangement, and the like, and in favor of more practical courses in English, business subjects, and general education. In Korea the most conspicuous and practically the only continuous program features are the night schools and day schools. In China, although ordinary commercial courses are regularly conducted, the most notable achievement is a variant from the typical Association activity in this field. After the war a formidable attack was launched on the pressing national problem of illiteracy by means of a mass education movement under the leadership of James Yen and Daniel Fu. These men selected the

most essential of the Chinese written characters and organized around them simple graded courses for popular instruction. By means of high-pressure campaigns and with the hearty cooperation of the local YMCAs and YWCAs of the country, these "1000 character" classes were taught everywhere with such signal success that the movement eventually became too large and too far-reaching for inclusion in the YMCA program and was organized as a separate enterprise. Another interesting variant from the ordinary program is the "home betterment" education promoted by the YWCA, which has in recent years increasingly engaged the attention and participation of the board women and older membership groups in Japan and China. Courses are given in cooking, nursing, sewing, maternity and baby welfare, kindergarten activities and problems of family health. Among the program suggestions on educational work obtained by the China YWCA survey, the largest block (40 per cent of the total number) had to do with improving and increasing this particular kind of instruction.

In Europe immediately after the war both movements carried on extensive programs in language and commercial courses. They were, apparently, adequate to the occasion and reasonably successful in meeting the very wide-spread demand. However, as conditions became stabilized, the several governments took over the task of public instruction and vocational training on a larger scale and at a lower tuition cost than was feasible for the Associations. There has been, accordingly, a marked decrease in attendance at the classes of the YMCA and YWCA, with a varying rapidity as between countries. The courses showing the greatest longevity, as will be readily understood, are usually those in English. More firmly established than is generally true elsewhere is the work in this field conducted by the YWCA project in Turkey. The business courses given at the "service centers" can, according to the survey report, "successfully compete with all other places in the city where commercial training is given, and the quality of its output is recognized as high."

As it became apparent that the general attendance was on the decrease, many of the YMCAs started courses in vocational

training of a technical kind. This is especially true in Czechoslovakia, Poland and the Baltic states. Such courses have so far been decidedly successful and they recommend themselves to local boards as income-producing features. The licensed automobile classes in Czechoslovakia are an instance of this, and the outstanding example is furnished by the chauffeurs' course given by the Warsaw Association in Poland. There were 484 registrants for this latter work in 1929, an exceptionally high enrollment for any type of class. The Estonian YMCA has recently opened a trade school in Tallinn on a government contract.

Easily the most unusual and conspicuously successful venture in the field of vocational training is that of the Russian Correspondence School, carried on with the help of the North American YMCAs in Paris. The Russian *émigré* population, scattered all over the world, has from the start included an unusually high proportion of young people in need of technical education. Among them are young men and women of school age, former university students who now have to earn their living, and professionals and specialists who could not secure positions and therefore had to turn to new fields. To meet this obvious need, the school was started in 1921 in a small way, with scattered courses, and was reorganized in 1924 with its classes systematically arranged in graded "cycles." This process involved the collaboration of 59 experts. Chief emphasis is placed on the technical department (electrical, civil and mechanical engineering), but instruction is given also in agricultural and commercial subjects, foreign languages and general subjects. The students are largely in their twenties and thirties, the men predominating overwhelmingly (94 per cent), and usually of the Russian Orthodox faith (78 per cent). Over half are registered in the technical department. Impressive evidence of the usefulness of the courses is furnished by their popularity. In 1924 there were 2,858 students and in 1929 as many as 7,963, an increase of 179 per cent. The budget, during the same period, increased by only 23 per cent and a steadily larger proportion of it is being annually met from the nominal tuition fees. The students live all over the world but the bulk of them (92 per cent) are in Europe, large

numbers of them in the Balkans, Poland, the Baltic States and France. Of peculiar interest is the circumstance that 124 of the present students live in Soviet Russia.

There is no special achievement in educational work to be reported from the countries of Latin America. The secondary school of the YMCA in Rio de Janeiro is above the usual Association performance, apparently, and the classes of some of the YWCAs, especially in Chile, are serving their purpose. The report on the Argentine YMCA expressed the judgment that other institutions could do equally well what that organization was attempting in its vocational courses, but emphasized the YMCA's unusual opportunity to become "the precursor of a veritable renewal of values and an intense spiritual awakening" by means of purely cultural education. The report paid high tribute to the literary and musical programs conducted by this YMCA during the last twelve years, and commended the achievement of such men as Navarro Monzo, Nelson, Ricci, and de la Rúa.

There is not much to be said for the formal educational programs in India. While they are conceded to be fulfilling a necessary function, they do not evoke enthusiasm. When the local survey called, in its group meetings, for comment on the best work of the Associations, the educational departments came in for hardly any mention and they were often criticized, on the other hand, as "desultory and opportunistic."

On the whole the educational work of the Associations, in the formal sense, appears to consist of more or less unmethodical classes given as desired to groups of young people who are fairly well isolated from the Association as a movement. While it is to be assumed generally, from observation and prevailing opinion, that little transfer and interchange takes place from one program department to another, the educational work appears to be particularly apart. In the absence of definite figures this cannot, of course, be categorically asserted, but the probability is certainly in this direction. Incidentally, it might be pointed out that such was very definitely found to be the case in the careful studies recently made of certain representative YMCAs in the United States. For one thing, most of the

classes meet in the evening and, since the students are almost all employed or studying during the day, there is obviously little time or energy to engage in other activities. Furthermore, the applicants to the educational departments come with a much more definite and more serious purpose than is true of the rest of the membership, and usually are under greater economic pressure, if not from a different social class. This is obviously true, of course, in the case of the registrants for trade courses. The classes are, in addition, almost exclusively conducted by outside instructors or volunteers, so that a minimum of contact is possible with those who must be the principal carriers of the Association spirit. Finally, there is the testimony, pointing in the same direction, furnished by the objective appraisal that the present survey was able to secure of the educational department of the Istanbul YMCA—in most respects a typical and representative Association. Since there is good reason to suppose that the findings are of wider application than the writer could know, it will not be inappropriate to close this section with quotations from the report:

American language and commercial courses are, fundamentally, carried on successfully. . . . To my mind, a language and commercial course in a more independent place would have a more educational purpose. If I say that the applicants also have the same feeling I will not be mistaken. But on the other hand, if the use of the Association libraries and other activities by the students as they desire, is claimed to be a reason for preference, I am not of the same belief. How many of these students have read books and how many of them have taken part in other activities? How many have attended lectures? When the answers to these questions are negative rather than positive, it is necessary to accept the first alternative. . . . Briefly, I believe that these statements about supplementary education, which was being given, do not state a fact but a desire, a wish.

Service Features

What has already been said of the educational departments is even more strikingly true of the service or social features of the ordinary Association program. These are primarily dormi-

tories or hostels, maintained for students or young men and women in business, and they have been characteristic phases of the work of both movements, especially in the Far East and India. To a lesser extent cafeterias and tea rooms have also been operated. Similar work is coming to the fore increasingly in Europe, notably in Czechoslovakia, but is carried on in only very desultory fashion in Latin America. No type of activity could be more obviously useful, in these days of rapidly expanding cities, nor more germane, one would suppose, to the essential purpose and orientation of the Christian Associations. It might be argued, in fact, that inasmuch as the port cities of the East are the direct result of "foreign" commercial impact on the indigenous national life, the idealistic forces emanating from western civilization have a special responsibility to address themselves to the specific problems of urban life. Yet, allowing for some exceptions, both the YMCA and the YWCA have shown singularly little appreciation of the real possibilities, so far as program is concerned, and there has been a strong tendency to regard their hostels and cafeterias as of secondary importance or as income-producing features.

The YWCA has, on the whole, been more aware of these opportunities than has the men's organization, and has shown greater ability in handling such work. This is notably the case in India, where the hostels for students and business girls make a good impression on observers and are generally regarded as the best work the YWCA is doing. Nor is it, of course, surprising that this should be the case, when one considers the traditional preoccupation of women with home matters and the greater need for some such protection on the part of the average young woman away from her own home. The YWCA of India, moreover, has hitherto specialized in the problems of the Anglo-Indian girl. This element of the population is relatively insignificant, as far as numbers are concerned, but it is characteristically urban in its origin and interests, representing the intermarriage of eastern and western peoples, and its feminine portion is among those groups most liable to exploitation. Anglo-Indian girls are, for the most part, under the necessity of earn-

ing their own living and they aim to approximate the occidental rather than the Indian style of life and culture. The YWCA has sought to offer them a home while they are carrying on such studies as they can afford, or while they are engaged in business in the larger cities. This service consists mainly of supplying inexpensive but attractive living accommodation with a guaranty of security. There is a pleasant social atmosphere in the more successful of these hostels and informal entertainments are periodically arranged. The extent to which the girls participate in the clubs and other activities of the Association is not evident in the report. The small holiday homes for business girls in the hill stations should also be mentioned in this connection. In Japan and China, dormitories are similarly maintained but they are rather peripheral to the chief interest of the Associations.

So far as the men's organization is concerned, the dormitories in Japan, China, and India are gaining in importance all the time. They may be counted on to render valuable service as urbanization continues in these countries and as larger numbers of young men are attracted to business life and western standards of living. They were found to be well filled when the survey was in progress, and the residents were, generally speaking, of a higher level than the rest of the membership with respect to education and economic status. While available figures are fragmentary, it seems likely that the period of residence seldom exceeds a year; the turnover in China appears to be exceptionally high, since the average length of stay in the dormitories of the centers studied is given, in the survey report, as about three weeks. The survey observers, in these countries, were impressed with the usefulness and adequacy of these institutions, so far as their primary function is concerned, but they reported no apparent integration into the life of the several Associations, and not very much in the way of dormitory program. The general lack of understanding of the possibilities in this field is reflected in the wide-spread practice of assigning responsibility for any such program to younger and inexperienced secretaries. This is especially to be regretted since the residents themselves are not a very easy group to deal with and do not respond very readily

to any program approach. In India one hostel group actually expressed itself to the secretary in charge as follows:

The trouble with the management of this place is that you assume that we are interested in the activities of the Association, whereas we are interested in getting a room as cheaply as possible. Whenever you include us in the Association it irritates us.

That the situation can be constructively handled, however, is clearly demonstrated by two outstanding exceptions. These are furnished by the YMCA of Madras and the local Associations in Czechoslovakia. Generally speaking, nothing essentially different from what has been said remains to be reported of the dormitories and cafeterias as conducted by both movements in Europe and Latin America, except that they are on a smaller scale and perhaps rather more peripheral than elsewhere. But in the Associations mentioned a constructive beginning has been made in demonstrating the educational value of having different racial and social groups eating and living together. Hindus, Mohammedans and Christians are actually doing this in Madras, a circumstance of exceptional symbolic significance in caste-ridden India, and the Association has the public reputation of being a leader in "giving to men an experience of associated living." The same is true, on a smaller scale, of the student hostel in Calcutta.

In Czechoslovakia the eight dormitories and nine cafeterias (exclusive of the Student Home in Prague) have been so effective that they are second only to the physical activities in the public estimation. The residents stay for a relatively long time in the dormitories, usually two or three years or more. The program of the Prague dormitory is in the hands of a woman with full secretarial status. A pleasant atmosphere of fellowship and sociability prevails in these buildings, and in the last few years a persistent attempt has been made to organize the dormitory residents into young men's clubs, integrated with similar clubs among the rest of the membership. While most local Associations find this rather a difficult undertaking, progress is apparently being made. The Student Home in Prague is the head-

quarters for the "student renaissance movement," the more liberal student group, and consists of an immense cafeteria and club-room facilities. In 1927, the membership of the student movement totalled 2,437 individuals of 27 nationalities, only a little over a third of whom were Czechs. The membership, moreover, is not restricted along sex lines and 15 per cent were women.

THE NEWER APPROACH TO CHARACTER BUILDING

The bulk of the Association programs, so far as the ordinary membership and the general public are concerned, have already been described in the foregoing section. From the point of view of the enthusiasm and interest of the leadership, however, the most important elements are yet to be pointed out. The impression gained from the preceding discussion will doubtless be that the most significant achievements are in the past, while the essential vitality is largely missing to develop the possibilities of what has been accomplished. The present great restlessness among Association leaders and the marked tendency among promising secretaries (*i.e.*, the nationals) to leave for other work cannot be explained altogether, as has been seen, by the drastic inroads of political upheaval and financial pressure. There is, especially in the YMCA, a widely admitted awareness that the movements have somewhat lost their bearings in the complex of modernity. It is nevertheless true, on the other hand, that both Associations give every evidence of vitality in certain aspects of the work.

As already indicated in the historical discussion, there has set in during the last thirty years or so in North America a definite countercurrent to the prevalent high degree of departmentalization, together with a new approach to character building. This countercurrent has been steadily gaining, especially since the war when it was transmitted overseas, and commands the interest of the most forward-looking members of the secretariat. The new conception is based on modern developments in psychology and educational theory. It lays emphasis not only on diversified activities and an all-round development for each individual—an ideal proclaimed by, but not attained through, the

departmental theory—but also on self-expression in the conduct of these activities and their integration in the whole development program by means of an organizing purpose or interest of some sort. This method of character building finds expression primarily in the club work and in the camps.

Modern educators have been emphasizing the importance of childhood as the period when basic habits are formed and the foundations of character are laid. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that one of the chief fields for this newer approach should have been the work for boys and girls. This form of Association activity has thus far attained its best development in Europe. In the Far East and in India such work was hardly ever mentioned in the survey interviews and the reports indicate that much promotion is needed to keep it going at all. Childhood and its problems are not popularly of major concern in these countries where, on the contrary, age and experience occupy the foreground of attention. While there has not been much development in this line hitherto in Latin America, there are flourishing departments for boys in Buenos Aires and Montevideo. In Europe, however, the YMCAs give their best efforts to this work on the theory that only in this way will it be possible to educate a future constituency. In the Balkans, Turkey, and the Baltic states the average proportion of members under twenty years of age is two-thirds of the total. In the other European countries the proportion is about one-fifth, as over against one-tenth in the East.

While no definite lines of cleavage can be established between the work in this field of the two Associations, there is nevertheless a decided tendency toward somewhat different emphases, analogous to the divergence already noted in the approach to physical education. The basic philosophy of the program is the same for both Associations: development of the individual through group activities involving as much physical recreation, outdoor life and moral education as possible. The typical YMCA program is built upon a system of self-governing clubs—of a “four-fold” nature more often than with a specialized interest, organized into one or more “councils” (according to age groups

and the size of the membership), which consist of elected representatives from the individual clubs and which are entrusted with certain minor aspects of program determination and administration. The YWCA has developed as its standard for work among younger girls a program of social service and outdoor activity, known as Girl Reserve work, which is distinguished from the program of the Girl Scouts and similar organizations by its emphasis on training for significant membership in the Association. The YMCA attempts to capitalize the so-called "gang instinct" of boys and to build character on the basis of loyalty to a well defined, compact group. The YWCA likewise proceeds on the theory of group loyalty, but on a much looser plan, and tends to rely on the motivating force of certain ideals and standards rather than on that of devotion to one's fellows. Of particular value in the boys' program is the training offered in democratic processes. The work in Montevideo was singled out by the regional consultants for special commendation on this ground, since it is a unique contribution to Latin America. In Buenos Aires, on the other hand, an organization has been developed known as the "Knights of the Red Triangle" which, in methods and procedure, more closely resembles the program of the Boy Scouts or of the Girl Reserves than it does the usual YMCA pattern.

Another medium for this newer approach to character building is afforded by the camps as conducted by both Associations, again especially in Europe and Latin America. Every Association movement in Europe here studied has at least one such camp and most of the YMCAs have more; in Czechoslovakia there are as many as five. While this is not as yet true of the YWCA in Latin America, where this movement is still decidedly in the process of orienting itself, most of the YMCAs have engaged in camping on a more or less extensive scale, and the YMCA camp at Piriapolis, Uruguay, has demonstrated the possibilities of this work in such a way as to attract much public attention. The typical camping program centers, of course, around outdoor life and physical recreation and is carefully worked out in detailed schedules. With the usual group games, athletic contests and aquatic sports, it combines instruction in life saving, first aid

and hygiene, and, whenever feasible, woodcraft and nature lore in its various branches. Much is done with informal entertainments, especially around the camp fire in the evenings, and a markedly inspirational or specifically religious atmosphere is cultivated. Camps are one of the best means evolved by the Associations for furthering international fellowship. There is frequently a more complex group at camp, as far as nationality is concerned, than in the several Association buildings. In Europe, the boys' camps regularly exchange delegations, notably in Poland and Czechoslovakia, while a very significant achievement in this line was the participation, in 1930, of some German boys from Transylvania in the camp life of the Roumanian YMCA. The South American camp at Piriapolis has been traditionally a center for groups from the entire continent. These camp sites are used for conferences, especially for students or older boys and girls, and also for staff retreats, as well as for the regular programs, and they therefore often assume symbolic value as the places where the movements receive their greatest inspiration. Of the Association techniques taken over by the Russian Student Christian Movement for use with its young people one of the most important and most popular is the summer camp.

Some effort has been made to carry over into the adult membership the values of the newer educational approach. This has been done primarily by means of "interest" or discussion groups. The YMCA has accomplished something in this line in Czechoslovakia among the younger men in its membership, while the "leaders corps," elsewhere described, which have been developed in many centers, represent probably its best achievement. It is the YWCA, however, that has carried on the most interesting experiments in this field, through its use of this technique among older women and especially board members. The YWCA is not an aggressively feminist organization; while it definitely aims to assist women in attaining economic independence and concerns itself in its program very much with the problems of business girls, it also is greatly interested in the woman at home. Moreover, the lay leadership represents the most continuous element in the Association and, in the nature of the case, may

be expected to consist more often of public-spirited married women than of those actively engaged in professional life. This has been recognized with sure instinct and increasingly since the war, by those entrusted with laying the foundations of a movement. The fact is demonstrated by the importance attached to educating this group to the ideals and methods of the Association, and to securing their commitment to its cause. With more or less intention and success, an attempt has been made in different instances to let the program activities result from the natural interests of these women and thus become a means of their self-expression and development. The democratic procedures of group decision by committees thus become an integral part of the educational process. This theory underlies the functioning of the YWCA throughout the world and is basic to its organizational structure. From the program point of view the idea has been used outstandingly in China, where the bulk of the recognized membership consists of older married women, and the Girl Reserves come under the head of "extension." The interest in "home betterment" courses, in China and in Japan, is traceable, of course, to this point of view. Another important example is afforded by the work in the Baltic States where notable success has been achieved, especially in Esthonia. The theory is, indeed, quite generally held by the secretaries now being sent abroad. In Latin America, it should be said, however, little ability and imagination has yet been displayed in seizing upon and using for Association purposes the great natural interests of the unusually able women of those countries. Of importance in this connection is the circumstance that the National Board of the YWCA of the United States in 1930 called to its employed staff a specialist in educational processes who is to devote herself entirely to developing ways and means of interesting and educating lay leadership.

SPECIAL PROJECTS AND EXTENSION WORK

While both Association movements have been primarily concerned with the problems of young people in business and have operated characteristically in the large commercial centers of the

world, there has been a marked tendency, especially since the war, to reach out from the buildings into the general community, in the first place, and then from the cities into the rural districts. With the rise of nationalistic sentiment and the self-consciousness of labor, this tendency has been given further impetus and has found its most noteworthy expression so far in the East. Easily the leading movements, in this respect, are the YMCA and YWCA of China and the YMCA of India.

The YMCA of China has an international reputation for initiating social service on a large scale, and has repeatedly canvassed the country with its projects. The most conspicuous achievements to date have been in the field of moral and health propaganda and mass education, as already described in this chapter. Local conditions have prevented anything on a comparable scale in very recent years, and the present program is decidedly building-centered. But the opinion was encountered to a considerable extent among the secretaries, national and foreign alike, that more emphasis should be laid on industrial and rural work and on reaching the "under-privileged" groups in urban centers. In the words of the China report, "the YMCA is neglecting its function of going to those occupational classes that do not have proper services and facilities." Beginnings in this direction have been made with such projects as the "model village" housing demonstration in Shanghai and the experiment in rural work under way in an area of 22 villages near Soochow involving a population of some 2,500 people. Nothing significant has been accomplished in this way as yet in the industrial field; no leadership for industrial programs is provided at the present time by the National Council, and only five of the 38 local Associations are attempting anything of the sort.

The YWCA in China has not been in a position to operate in so spectacular a manner in the past, and is now under the same limitations as the YMCA. It also is conducting rural work, however, in the provinces of Shantung and Kwangtung, and is thereby assisting in the process of educating the agricultural population to make the most of its resources. Characteristic of this Association in its efforts at social service has been its ability

to cooperate with other agencies, such as the schools, the churches and the YMCA, in developing public opinion on the subjects of concubinage, footbinding, opium, drink, and the like, while many of the local YWCAs have conducted "1000 character" classes, baby clinics, playgrounds, bath houses and similar projects, on a small scale. Its most noteworthy achievement in this field, however, is in the industrial program, the significance of which lies more in the method and its possibilities, perhaps, than in any demonstrable results so far. As already indicated, the YWCA is more self-conscious as a movement than the YMCA, and has come to recognize the importance of making the activities of the Association result from the intelligent concern of the controlling members. This is well illustrated by the approach to industrial work in China. Disregarding the abortive attempt to operate in this field with evangelistic methods in 1905-1907, the YWCA first sought, in 1921, to contribute to the solution of industrial problems as they concerned women by studying the actual conditions and drawing public attention to the facts through cooperation with the schools and churches. Since 1923, with the increased self-consciousness of labor, the YWCA has made a more direct approach, by means of recreation programs, to the industrial women themselves, but primarily through attempting to educate the Association members to an appreciation of the problem and a sense of responsibility for it. The YWCA is thus developing an educational method of permanent usefulness to the movement, as such, rather than specific techniques with which to attack a given social evil. While industrial work was initiated in Wusih, where there is no city Association, it is strongest and most significant in Shanghai and Tientsin.

In India the YMCA has been conducting industrial work among the mill workers in Bombay and in Nagpur. The program consists of recreation work, night schools, health education, and musical or other entertainments and is carried on jointly with local capitalist enterprise. This is actually and constructively the case in Nagpur, where the project is carried on in cooperation with the Empress Mills, a concern employing some 8,800 men and women and governed by a more enlightened labor policy than

is generally met with in the cotton industry. In Bombay the work is largely financed by the B. B. & C. I. Railroad and the city, and the staff actually appears to be less free to express itself than in Nagpur. The Bombay project is, in fact, not in a very flourishing condition, a statement which also applies to the city work, and the program is entrusted almost entirely to untrained volunteers. In Nagpur, on the other hand, the program is both more extensive and more varied, being conducted by four, until recently five, YMCA secretaries, one of them a North American, assisted by eleven teachers and nine welfare workers. An integral part of the work, moreover, is a "model village" housing plan, initiated by the company and managed for it by the YMCA. The whole project was started at the instance of the company and will be taken over by it in the near future when once firmly established.

The YWCA in this area is doing very little industrial work, but an interesting project was launched at Bombay in 1928 in cooperation with two other organizations for social welfare, the Seva Sadan and the Social Service League. The distinctive feature of the undertaking is that it is actually located in a *chawl*, the huge communal living quarters of the mill hands, and that the two secretaries in charge live there with the people they are trying to serve. While the program, consisting of a dispensary, classes, clubs and health propaganda, is unfortunately dependent to a great extent on transient volunteer leadership, the undertaking as a whole appears to be starting out on valid lines.

Perhaps the most outstanding single piece of social service conducted by any of the Associations here studied is the project in rural reconstruction carried on by the YMCA of India, Burma and Ceylon. The aim of the work is to provide the farming, or *ryot*, population with the sort of education that will develop pride as well as efficiency in their calling. To this end, instruction is given not only in general farming techniques, such as improved methods of poultry raising and bee culture or the proper selection and treatment of seed and fertilizer, but also in the advantages of combined action and group-mindedness as expressed in cooperative buying and selling or in joint construc-

tion of roads and similar improvements. This work is conducted at four centers in the southern part of the country, and each has developed according to an individual pattern. The main feature at Areakode, for instance, is an industrial school; Ramanathapuram (Coimbatore) is noted for its summer school and its flood and cyclone relief work; Indukurpet operates as a settlement and promotes its methods through the village schools; while Marthandam (Travancore) finds distributing agencies in the hundred or so little village YMCAs of the district. These are very active and spiritually live organizations, largely self-supporting and run by local volunteers, with a program of religious education and social service. The India survey secured an appraisal of this project by an Indian specialist in rural problems. While the report highly commends the work as a whole, especially what is being accomplished with farming and cooperative methods, it also stated emphatically that more could be done than is now being done to promote civic action for the improvement of sanitary and living conditions. The survey itself stressed the great opportunity before the YMCA in this field, not only for developing group consciousness in a given village but also for making an attack on India's acute "communal" problem, the antagonism between Hindus and Moslems, by bringing different villages together for mutual benefit.

Similar work is being initiated in Korea on much the same general principles, but is still largely in the promotive stage. There are other examples of social service that deserve mention, such as the industrial work of the Syrian YWCA, the YMCA work for neglected boys in Buenos Aires, in Lisbon and in Krakow, and the YMCA branch for refugees near Athens, to name some of the most conspicuous among them. They are not distinguished by anything essentially new in method or content, however, and the details may be found in the respective survey reports. Social service, as already indicated, forms an essential part of the program and of the religious discipline of the work among the Bantu students of South Africa. Great opportunities, as yet uncaptured, lie before the Associations in Latin America, where there is a great deal of public interest,

especially among the women in welfare projects of various kinds along with little in the way of scientific discipline.

Extension projects in these or similar fields are carried on by most Associations of both movements as soon as they are fairly well established. Japan affords a notable exception, possibly owing to the advanced policies in social welfare of the government. This would not account, however, for the weakness of both Associations in that country in their industrial programs. The inaccessibility of girls who live in factory dormitories, which are so abundant in Japan, no doubt accounts in part for the slight development of industrial work in the YWCA. Projects in this field are usually initiated by the central headquarters of the national organization, or by the metropolitan organization of a strong city Association such as, for instance, Buenos Aires. Sometimes the local Associations then join in the enterprise, as was notably the case with the mass education movement in China, but on the whole there is a tendency for such projects to become ends in themselves. There is a minimum of participation in social service on the part of privilege users, although an attempt is often made to interest student groups as volunteer workers. The outstanding exceptions of the Chinese YWCA and the Indian village YMCAs will of course immediately come to mind. Moreover, in view of the demonstrated acute personnel problems of the national secretariat, together with the collapse of the training schemes, in those three movements that have distinguished themselves most in social service projects (namely, both movements in China and the Indian YMCA), there is a grave question whether or not this work has been accomplished at the expense of the local Associations. This is probably least true in the case of the YWCA in China.

This serious reservation applies even more directly to other national projects, such as the publication and lecture departments of the YMCA and the hospitality and tourist services carried on by both movements and devolving particularly on the foreign secretaries. All these projects are necessary and valuable as cultivating international goodwill and providing publicity for the movements, but considerable criticism of them was encoun-

tered from the secretariat and it would seem that greater care should be exercised in order to safeguard the interests of the local Associations. The YMCAs of India, Japan, China and South America have built up very worth while publication departments that are undoubtedly contributing much to the life of the resident Christian bodies. They have been making locally available in translation some of the most notable contemporary Christian and other religious writings, or (as in China) the latest books on political theory and citizenship training. They do not include, however, many pamphlets or books that might be of service to secretaries in meeting the daily problems of their work and their clientele is largely (about four-fifths) outside the movement. This criticism does not apply to the YWCA, however. While this movement has not, it is true, been able to serve its own secretariat and membership adequately through literature, the reason is a financial one rather than an outcome of policy. In China the YWCA does more in this line than elsewhere, except in the United States, and while its magazine, *The Green Year*, is essentially a woman's magazine rather than a professional paper, its short, practical articles represent "the thought and spirit of the Association" and are often "contributed by co-workers and sympathizers. Actual Association news features are gathered into a supplement."¹³ This magazine has a circulation of 1,500 and ranks as one of the three leading publications for women in the country. It is apparently successful in combining the two functions of nourishing the life of the movement itself and of cultivating goodwill for it in the community.

The lecture departments of the YMCA in India and parts of Europe were instituted to demonstrate the value of lantern slides for educational and publicity purposes but are very much outdated in subject matter at the present time. They are used by outsiders even more than the publication departments. The YWCA has stressed so-called "hospitality work" more than the YMCA, but both movements give an amount of time to meeting and entertaining distinguished visitors that seems disproportionate in view of the urgent problems of the work itself. This must

¹³ Survey Report on the YWCA in China.

be attributed in some measure to the lack of agreement and understanding within the secretariat as to the real functions and scope of their professional activities.

In conclusion a few general remarks should be made about the programs of the two movements. Of major interest in this connection and very promising for the future is the circumstance that no criticism was encountered from outside that was not also voiced by Association leaders. The most severe and the most objectively incisive statements were made by secretaries of the YMCA and YWCA. Briefly, the major feeling was found to be a bewildered dissatisfaction with the present state of affairs, and there was little inclination to lay the blame entirely on environmental factors of a political, religious, racial or economic nature. It was generally thought that, while the YMCA has acted with greater publicity and on a larger scale, the fundamental difficulty of both Associations has been the opportunistic nature of their programs, a scattering of energies and a lack of concentration and statesmanship. This will be clear from what has already been quoted in this chapter and in Chapter III. It should also be emphasized that this criticism is distinctly less applicable to the European countries than to the other movements studied. The commission report of the China YWCA specifically recommended that the movement define itself clearly and then build a suitable program that should be intensive rather than extensive. The same insistence on self-knowledge and public definition is the keynote of the report on the India YMCA and of the area report for Latin America. It is implicit in the study of the China YMCA and more or less permeates most of the material assembled. In the words of a noted Chinese leader: "Sacrificing other interesting programs in order to do one thing well is the law of success in social progress." Related to this general feeling is the rather vague but wide-spread notion that, by the very multiplicity of its activities and the intricacy of its organization, the real meaning of the "Association idea" had somehow escaped. Much more was implicit in the ideals of the YMCA and the YWCA than has ever been actualized or apparently grasped by the movements themselves. Something of

this sort may have been in Woodrow Wilson's mind when he observed to a great YMCA leader: "The thing that causes me to wonder about the YMCA is the fact that its leaders and members so little realize its possibilities."

CHAPTER V

PROBLEMS OF FINANCE AND INCOME PRODUCTION

INASMUCH as the assistance given to the several movements abroad by the Foreign Divisions of the North American Christian Associations has always involved heavy expenditures of funds, whether this assistance has taken the form of personnel, of buildings, or of special grants for one purpose or another, a consideration of some of the major problems of these bodies in the realm of finance and income production is of primary importance for an understanding of the total situation. How extensive this assistance has been, and the amazing rate of its growth, may be gathered, in the first instance, from a consideration of the total regular expenditures as they appear on the books. These figures are conservative so far as the total situation is concerned, for they do not include the various extra-budgetary funds that are constantly being raised by both Foreign Divisions for unusual or unforeseen items.

EXPENDITURES OF THE FOREIGN DIVISIONS

The recorded total expenditures for every fifth year since the inception of the work are presented in Table XXXIV. It will be seen that the Foreign Division of the YMCA had an initial period of much faster growth than that of the YWCA, but that both organizations attained their greatest rate of expansion during the war years, 1914-1919. Since that time there has been not only an abatement in the rate of growth, but also, within recent years, a definite retrenchment in expenditures. This occurred earlier in the YWCA than in the YMCA, and is not reflected in Table XXXIV for the latter body because of the five-year intervals. Further drastic reductions have taken place in both organizations in 1930 and 1931, while the present survey

TABLE XXXIV—TOTAL EXPENDITURES OF THE YMCA AND YWCA
FOREIGN DIVISIONS EVERY FIFTH YEAR, 1889-1929.

YEAR	YMCA			YWCA		
	Expenditures in Dollars	Per Cent Increase	Per Cent Decrease	Expenditures in Dollars	Per Cent Increase	Per Cent Decrease
1889	7,774	...	...	...	...	...
1894	18,535	140	...	...	...	...
1899	33,006	78	...	...	...	...
1904	102,823	212	...	...	...	...
1909	193,082	88	...	47,357*	...	...
1914	432,877	124	...	53,885	14	...
1919	1,124,112	161	...	344,641	540	...
1924	1,582,757	41	...	396,659	15	...
1929	1,835,661	16	...	367,384	...	7
Increase 1929 over first year	1,827,887	23,513	...	320,027*	676*	...

* The first year of recorded expenditures for the Foreign Division of the YWCA is 1907. The amount was \$25,830. If this figure is taken for comparison with 1929 the actual increase is \$341,554, or 132.2 per cent.

has been in progress. Since the entire decade 1919-1929 is of crucial importance for an understanding of the present difficult position, especially of the YMCA, it will be advantageous to present the figures in greater detail. This is done in Table XXXV.

TABLE XXXV—TOTAL EXPENDITURES OF THE YMCA AND YWCA
FOREIGN DIVISIONS, BY YEARS, 1919-1929.

YEAR	YMCA			YWCA		
	Expenditures in Dollars	Per Cent Increase	Per Cent Decrease	Expenditures in Dollars	Per Cent Increase	Per Cent Decrease
1919	1,124,112	...	...	344,641	...	...
1920	1,419,660	26.0	...	604,565	75.0	...
1921	1,268,327	...	11.0	345,845	...	43.0
1922	1,399,685	10.0	...	344,814	...	0.3
1923	1,288,354	...	8.0	428,806	24.0	...
1924	1,582,757	23.0	...	396,659	...	8.0
1925	2,150,503	36.0	...	368,607	...	7.0
1926	2,173,780	1.0	...	360,511	...	2.0
1927	2,177,085	0.2	...	372,649	3.0	...
1928	2,123,210	...	3.0	356,638	...	4.0
1929	1,835,661	...	14.0	367,384	3.0	...

The expenditures of the YWCA, it will be seen, were at their highest in 1920, and, with some fluctuation, have declined fairly

steadily ever since. This has been the case particularly since 1924, the year when the YMCA suddenly increased its expenditures again after having shown, in the preceding years, a tendency not unlike that of the women's organization. It was due to the fact that the Foreign Division took over, at this time, the work started in Europe by the special war activities of the North American YMCAs. The following year witnessed another substantial increase, due to the same cause, but subsequently the annual expenditure remained virtually stationary until the peak year of 1927. The decline since that time has been steady. In order to appreciate the circumstances that produced both the sudden expansion in the war years and the subsequent developments, it will be necessary to examine briefly the general economic environment in which the two Foreign Divisions were functioning.

The most satisfactory way to illustrate compound rate of growth is by means of ratio graphs in which equal distances represent equal percentages of growth, or in other words, in which the rate of growth can be seen at a glance by the slope of the line. This is done, by way of example and in order to establish a norm for subsequent graphs, first for the expenditures of the YMCA Foreign Division (Graph I). The indicated rate of growth, compounded annually, is 20 per cent from 1891 to 1913, and the same from 1891 to 1920; for the total period, 1889 to 1929, the annual compound rate is 15 per cent. This is approximately equal to the rate of increase in net sales of the General Motors Corporation during its period of most rapid growth. Considering the fact that this concern was one of the fastest growing organizations in the country at the time, the similarity in trends is astounding.

Graph II furnishes a comparison of the rates of growth of the two Foreign Divisions with each other and also with that of the estimated realized income of the people of the continental United States, as computed by Willford I. King.¹ The national income increased at the rate of six per cent per annum during the pre-war period, as compared with a 20 per cent increase in

¹ *The National Income and Its Purchasing Power*, p. 74.

YMCA foreign expenditures and one of ten per cent in those of the YWCA. From 1914 to 1920 the national income increased at the rate of 20 per cent per annum, as compared with a 30 per cent annual increase in the foreign expenditures of the YMCA and a 50 per cent increase in those of the YWCA. During the temporary post-war readjustment period of 1920-1924, the curves for both the national income and the YMCA show considerable fluctuation, while that of the YWCA shows a marked decline. In the remaining years the rate of increase of YWCA expenditures is roughly in line with that of the national income, while that of the YMCA diverges sharply.

Additional light on the situation is afforded by Graph III, which compares the expenditures of the two Foreign Divisions both with the index of general prices, as computed by the Federal Reserve Bank of New York,² and with the expenditures for foreign missions of fifteen Protestant denominations,³ a type of enterprise closely related to that of the Foreign Divisions.

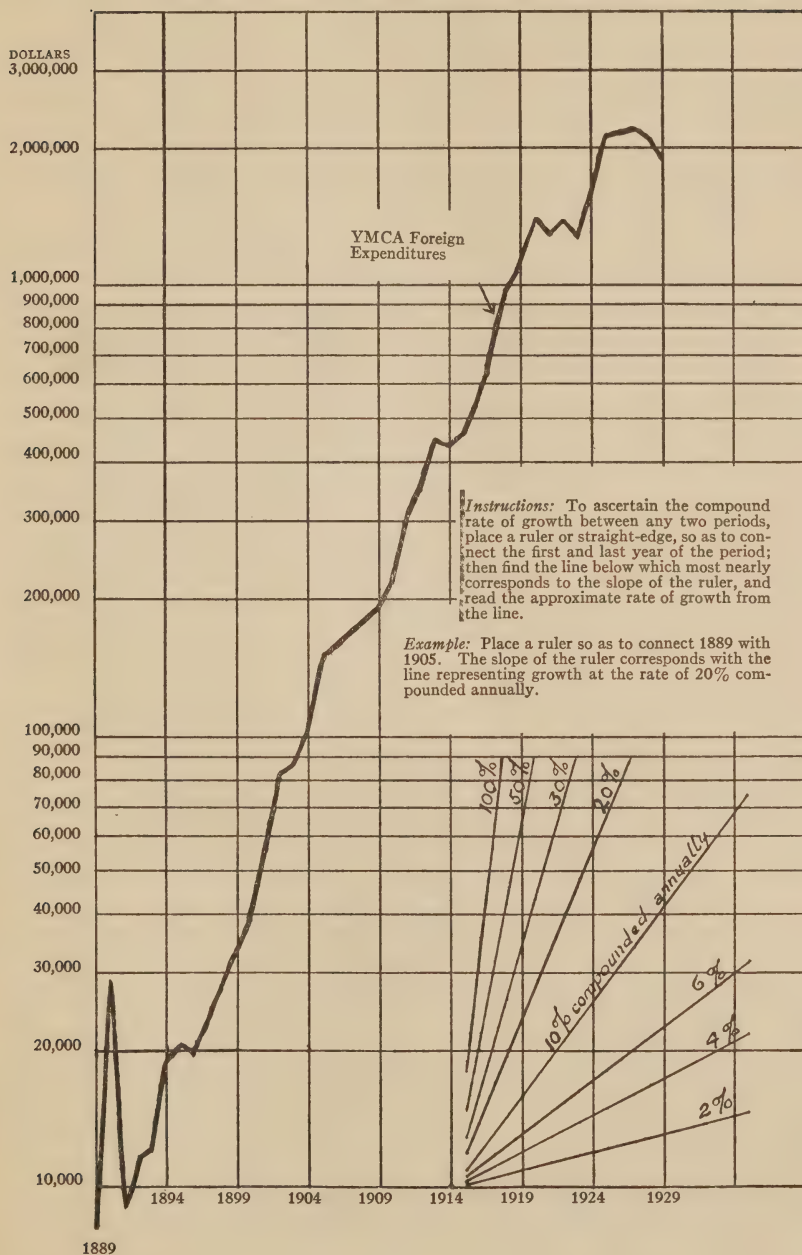
By reference to Graph II, it will be noticed that the rate of increase in general prices was almost identical with that of the national income between 1914 and 1920, and has been subsequently retarded even more definitely than the latter. With both these items increasing at the approximate rate of 20 per cent per annum from 1914 to 1920, after showing an increase of only two per cent and six per cent, respectively, up to that time, it is but natural to expect the foreign expenditures of the Christian Associations to show a marked increase in rate between 1914 and 1920.⁴ This was, moreover, a period in which giving on a large scale for national or international purposes was decidedly fashionable. The intensive financial campaign was perfected, and community chests were inaugurated. Along with increased national prosperity there developed throughout the nation an extraordinary degree of generosity. The expenditures

² *Standard Statistics 1930-31, Base Book Issue*, p. 151.

³ C. H. Fahs: *Trends in Protestant Giving*, p. 46.

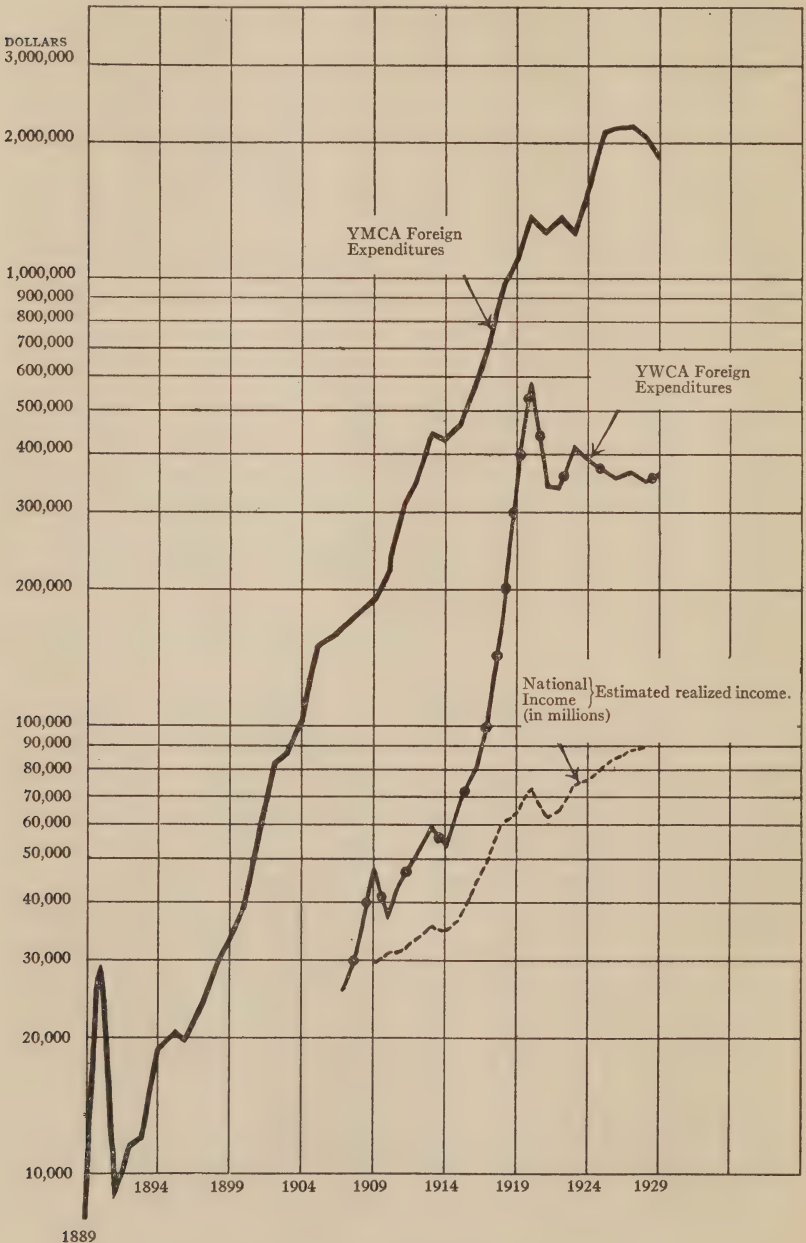
⁴ The references in the text to economic statistical data are not intended to suggest any norm of quantitative relationship between such data and the growth of Association expenditures. They are introduced only to indicate trends in resources.

GRAPH I
GROWTH OF YMCA TOTAL FOREIGN EXPENDITURES



GRAPH II

GROWTH OF YMCA AND YWCA FOREIGN EXPENDITURES COMPARED WITH THE GROWTH OF THE ESTIMATED REALIZED INCOME OF THE PEOPLE OF THE U. S.



for foreign work of the mission boards and the YWCA clearly reflect this trend, showing marked increases during these years. The whole trend in missionary giving is indeed strikingly in line with the figures for the national income and general prices. The general trend in the YMCA, on the other hand, shows no difference in the war years as compared with the preceding decades.

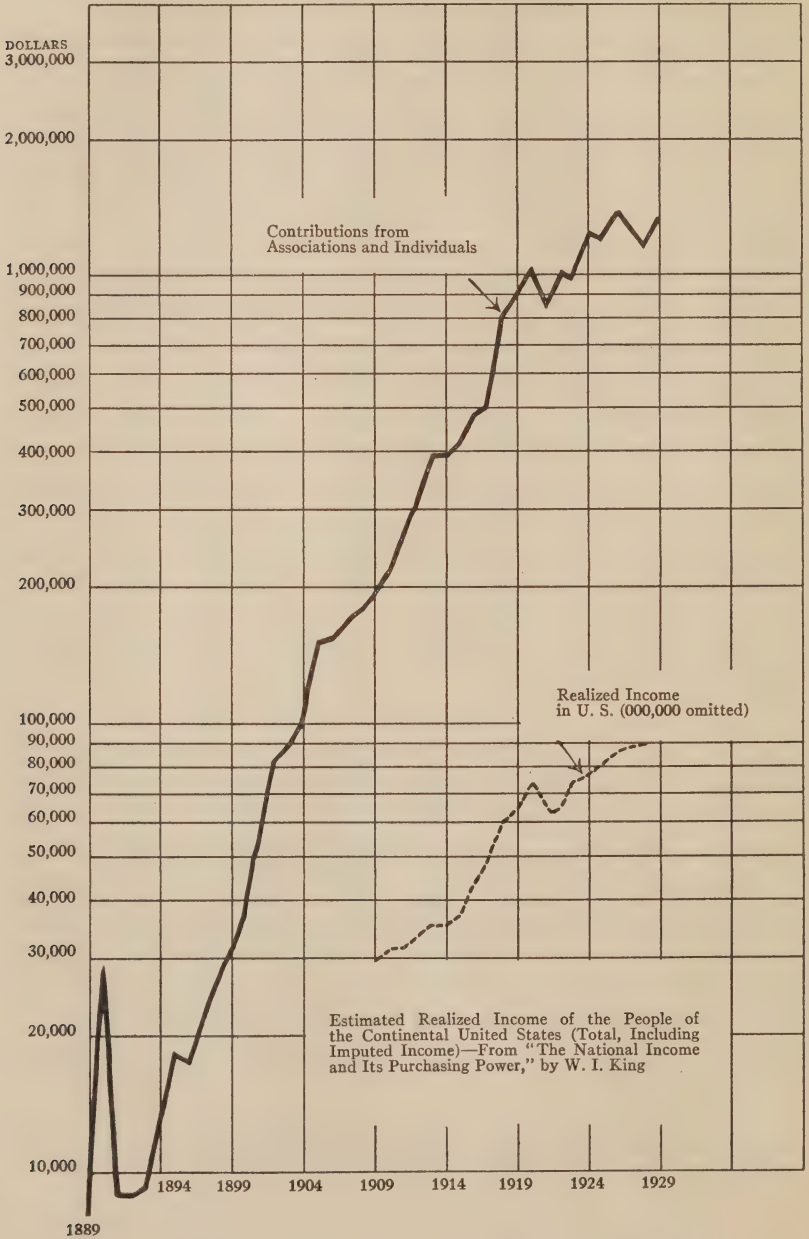
The relative age of an organization has a bearing on its rate of expansion. According to the estimates of a well known statistician,⁵ a new enterprise may be expected normally to have an initial period of rapid growth for about ten years or so, on the average, and to show considerable retardation after this period. The rapid development of the YMCA Foreign Division before the war may therefore be explained on the theory that this initial growth was taking place. The period of slowing up was then counteracted by the sudden increase in national giving power, but whether the YMCA should have expanded at quite the rate it did between 1914 and 1920, namely 30 per cent per annum, while the national income and general prices were increasing at the rate of only 20 per cent, is open to question. The subsequent increase in the expenditures of the YMCA suggests inflation; certainly, the burden taken over from the war work was far too heavy for the assimilating power of the average organization.

In the case of the YWCA, the war-time expansion occurred before the normal period of rapid growth had been completed, so that the very decided acceleration was to be expected. Moreover, the startling increase immediately after the war, in 1919 and 1920, was due primarily to large building enterprises. When these are eliminated from the calculations, there is a very close correlation between the expenditures of the Foreign Division of the YWCA and the national income for the entire period 1920-1929. This would seem to indicate that the National Board of the YWCA has the situation well in hand and has been keeping its expenditures for foreign work properly in line with available resources.

⁵ Malcolm C. Rorty, in the March, 1930, Supplement of the *Journal of the American Statistical Association*.

GRAPH III

COMBINED CONTRIBUTIONS FROM ASSOCIATIONS AND INDIVIDUALS FOR YMCA FOREIGN WORK COMPARED WITH ESTIMATED REALIZED INCOME OF THE PEOPLE OF THE U. S.



Before leaving this matter of expenditures for an analysis of income and a discussion of policy, it will be of interest to examine the details of expense in connection with the work abroad. This will be done for each Foreign Division separately, for the period 1925-1929.

Analysis of YMCA Foreign Division Expenditures, 1925-1929

When the Foreign Division of the North American YMCAs took over the European work, it was expected that appropriations from the unexpended war funds would carry the burden until a constituency should have been developed among American donors. This hope was not realized, as will be shown more in detail later in this chapter. Table XXXVI brings out in greater detail the fact already indicated in the preceding tables and graphs, that the expenditures of the YMCA for foreign work were practically at a standstill between 1925 and 1928, and then started to decrease rapidly. The decrease was only 1.3 per cent between 1925 and 1928, but it amounted to 14.6 per cent for the entire five years. Substantial decreases had occurred, especially in the Far Eastern and European areas, but it is interesting to note that these were practically offset until 1928 by the increased cost of income production and of general administration. The latter item of expense was forcibly reduced in 1929 by a drastic cut of 28.2 per cent. Almost half the increased cost of financing was due to increased interest charges caused by a shortage in working capital. The remainder apparently represents the greater cost and difficulty involved in securing the required contributions.

Tables XXXVIIA and B present in percentages the total expenses of the Foreign Division, by years, and the allocations as¹ between administrative areas. These areas include the following:

Far East: China (including Manchuria), Japan, Korea and Philippine Islands.

Southern and Western Asia and Africa: India, Burma and Ceylon, Egypt, Palestine and the Union of South Africa.

Latin America: Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Cuba, Mexico, Peru, Porto Rico, Uruguay and the Continental Committee.

TABLE XXXVI—EXPENDITURES FOR YMCA FOREIGN WORK, 1925 TO 1929.*

EXPENDITURE ON THE FIELD	1925	1926	1927	1928	1929	PER CENT DECREASE 1925-1929	PER CENT INCREASE 1925-1929
Far Eastern Area.....	\$ 680,246.29	\$ 676,446.48	\$ 640,020.35	\$ 580,418.67	\$ 492,534.36	27.6	...
Southern and Western Asia and Africa	277,572.08	276,621.00	274,687.28	275,072.14	250,431.88	9.8	...
Latin American Area	297,788.87	332,767.75	303,145.02	298,935.02	279,056.36	6.3	...
European Area	458,316.59	428,056.46	397,288.83	366,964.69	327,957.32	28.5	...
Smyrna Community Work.....	21,052.96	18,421.05	33,957.65	30,489.45	31,959.00	...	52.0
Total.....	\$1,734,976.79	\$1,732,312.74	\$1,649,099.13	\$1,551,879.97	\$1,381,938.92	20.4	...
Pro-Rata Share of Finance Expense.	146,668.50	189,867.72	224,601.12	231,153.52	209,406.71	...	42.8
Other Home Base Expenditures.....	268,857.46	251,599.07	303,358.01	340,176.26	244,315.67	9.1	...
Grand Total	\$2,150,502.75	\$2,173,779.53	\$2,177,058.26	\$2,123,209.75*	\$1,835,661.30	14.6	...

* \$392,961.00 appropriated in 1928 to cover deficit of 1927 not included.

Europe: Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Esthonia, France, Greece, Latvia, Italy, Poland, Portugal, Roumania, Russian Work (Paris), Turkey, Smyrna.

It will be seen that a relatively larger percentage of income was used in 1929 for home base expenses, and that there was a corresponding decrease of 5.4 per cent from 1925 to 1929 in the proportion allotted to the field. The gradual increase in the proportion required for "finance expense" reflects the growing difficulty due to inflation of the budget.

TABLE XXXVIIA—PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF TOTAL YMCA FOREIGN DIVISION EXPENDITURES, 1925-1929.

	1925	1926	1927	1928	1929
Expenditures on the Field *.....	80.7	79.7	75.7	73.1	75.3
Pro-rata Share of Finance Expense	6.8	8.7	10.3	10.9	11.4
Other Home Base Expenditures..	12.5	11.6	14.0	16.0	13.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

* Includes Smyrna Community Work.

TABLE XXXVIIB—PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF TOTAL AMOUNT SPENT BY YMCA ON FOREIGN FIELD, 1925-1929.

	1925	1926	1927	1928	1929
Far Eastern Area.....	39.2	39.0	38.8	37.4	35.6
Southern and Western Asia and Africa	16.0	16.0	16.7	17.7	18.1
Latin American Area.....	17.2	19.2	18.4	19.3	20.2
European Area *	27.6	25.8	26.1	25.6	26.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

* Includes Smyrna Community Work.

The relative amounts assigned to the several areas in 1929, it will be noted, do not differ markedly from those in 1925. The most notable decreases have taken place, however, in the Far East and in Europe. Within each area, the reduction has been borne primarily by the stronger movements in the first two areas and by the general administration in the last two. For instance, the reduction since 1925 in China alone (44 per cent) exceeds by over \$30,000 the total reduction in the Far Eastern area. In other words, if the figures for China were eliminated, the work in this area would show a substantial increase in expendi-

tures. The cost of area administration increased by 52.5 per cent between 1925 and 1928, but the drastic cut in 1929 created a net decrease of 27.5 per cent for the entire period.

In the area of Southern and Western Asia and Africa, the reduction in India, Burma and Ceylon is almost twice the amount of the reduction in the entire area. Egypt shows a 70 per cent increase, which offsets almost half the decrease just mentioned. In Latin America, Brazil shows the largest reduction (33 per cent), but the increases and decreases in this area almost balance each other. If it were not for the reduction in the expenses of the Continental Committee and of area administration, this field would show practically no reduction since 1925. In the European area, reductions have been made in almost every country, but the aggregate of these does not equal more than half the reduction made in China. The liquidation of the war work in France (not including, of course, the work for Russians conducted in Paris), and the cuts in the administrative and field staffs account for over 60 per cent of the total reduction. The Smyrna community welfare project has been eliminated from the budget of the Foreign Division since 1929, and launched as an independent enterprise.

In Table XXXVIII the typical expenditures of the Foreign Division abroad are analyzed in percentage form by countries for the year 1928. This, it will be recalled, was the last year before the policy of drastic cutting was inaugurated. Attention is called to the fact that these are the expenditures of the Foreign Division and not of the several national movements, which will be treated in a later section of this chapter. It will be seen that the bulk of the North American contribution takes the form of salaries and expenses of the North American staff. The remaining important items are training schemes for national secretaries and administrative expenses of the central headquarters of some of the movements. In the so-called mission countries, the plan has been followed of granting scholarships to promising nationals for study in North America. In Latin America the large "project" item assigned to the Continental Committee is for the Instituto Tecnico, the continental system of training

schools. In Europe, with the exception of the grants to Italy, Czechoslovakia and the Russian work in Paris (all enterprises for which local conditions necessitate substantial assistance from North America if they are to be maintained), the bulk of the "project" money goes to training nationals, both at the several formal institutes and "on the job" through the system of paying the salaries of "secretaries-in-training." Other important projects largely maintained through the Foreign Division are the rural work in India and Korea and the literature departments of India

TABLE XXXVIII—PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF YMCA FOREIGN DIVISION EXPENDITURES BY COUNTRIES, IN 1928.

	SAL- ARIES, ETC.	SENIOR SEC'S OFFICE	TRAIN- ING IN U. S. A.	PROJ- ECTS	COOPERA- TIVE ENTER- PRISE	SPECIAL WORK	TOTAL
<i>Far East</i>							
China	86	1	3	7	1	2	100
Japan	79	5	6	3	6	1	100
Korea	81	2	4	12	1	..	100
Philippines	77	3	4	16	..	..	100
<i>Africa, S. Asia, Near East</i>							
Egypt	84	6	5	5	*	..	100
India, Burma, Ceylon.	77	1	2	17	1	1	100
Palestine	69	8	..	23	..	..	100
South Africa	87	8	..	5	*	..	100
Turkey	74	3	..	23	..	..	100
<i>Latin America</i>							
Argentina	100	..	..	..	..	..	100
Brazil	95	..	..	5	..	..	100
Chile	100	..	..	..	..	..	100
Cuba	97	..	..	..	3	..	100
Mexico	57	..	*	38	1	4	100
Peru	100	..	..	..	..	..	100
Porto Rico	87	..	..	..	5	8	100
Uruguay	100	..	..	..	..	..	100
Continental Committee	47	1	..	46	1	5	100
<i>Europe</i>							
Bulgaria	78	5	..	17	..	..	100
Czechoslovakia	64	1	..	35	..	..	100
Estonia	88	2	..	10	..	..	100
France	100	..	..	..	..	..	100
Greece	66	6	..	28	..	..	100
Latvia	77	3	..	20	..	..	100
Italy	47	1	..	52	..	..	100
Poland	74	..	..	26	..	..	100
Portugal	72	2	..	26	..	..	100
Roumania	71	2	..	27	..	..	100
Russians	33	4	..	63	..	..	100

* Less than .5 per cent.

TABLE XXXIX—EXPENDITURES OF THE YWCA FOREIGN DIVISION FOR THE YEARS 1925 TO 1929.

ITEM	1925	1926	1927	1928	1929	PER CENT INCREASE 1925-1929	PER CENT DECREASE 1925-1929
Foreign Administration	\$ 25,171.78	\$ 34,514.41	\$ 33,711.67	\$ 29,790.11	\$ 30,305.01	20.4	...
China	137,587.77	121,788.12	114,531.83	98,021.66	93,612.01	...	32.0
India	34,305.30	32,568.42	30,622.56	31,364.64	37,821.57	10.2	...
Japan	47,173.54	50,076.41	52,151.54	52,623.88	50,955.74	8.0	...
South America	61,235.02	52,127.49	61,950.42	62,856.18	67,815.63	10.8	...
Near East	31,033.71	30,115.99	36,694.79	40,752.52	40,373.16	30.0	...
Greece .....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2,723.33	.....	.....
Philippine Islands	1,724.71	8,835.90	8,503.11	12,056.91	11,094.87	544.0	.....
Mexico	7,612.85	8,614.19	12,219.39	12,212.77	12,349.05	62.2	.....
Russia .....	.....	2,282.64	3,455.42	2,066.34	.....	.....	.....
Korea	660.00	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	100.0
Estonia .....	.....	7,261.32	7,624.99	7,397.51	9,666.09	.....	44.0
Latvia	15,947.03	10,212.67	9,960.18	6,572.76	6,620.38	.....	.....
China Property	6,155.60	1,713.48	1,214.00	921.02	.....	.....	100.0
Special Expenses .....	.....	400.00	.....	.....	4,046.70	.....	.....
Total	\$368,607.31	\$360,511.04	\$372,648.90	\$356,638.30	\$367,383.54	.....	0.3

and Japan. The item "cooperative enterprise" represents contributions to related movements, especially the organized Protestant Christian forces, in the several countries including North America.

Analysis of YWCA Foreign Division Expenditures, 1925-1929

As already indicated, the expenditures of the YWCA for foreign work have been well under control and more or less steadily on the decline since 1924. The Foreign Division is not organized for administrative purposes according to an area system, as is the case in the YMCA, and the bookkeeping is accordingly somewhat different. Table XXXIX presents the total expenditures by countries for the period 1925-1929. It will be seen that the amount assigned to China, during this time, has been reduced by 32 per cent as compared with the 44 per cent reduction in the YMCA. In both organizations, the work in China—which had in the past received more assistance than any other movement—has been asked to bear the heaviest load, in actual dollars, of the total reductions. It is interesting to note that, as a matter of fact, the YWCA actually increased its expenditures since 1925 in most of the countries where it has been assisting the local movements. The grant to Korea in 1925 was exceptional and not repeated, and the relatively small work in Russia has had to be discontinued. Otherwise, however, there have been reductions only in China and Esthonia. At the same time these reductions have been sufficiently substantial to more than offset the increases in the other countries. Preference in expenditures has been given to the Philippine Islands, Mexico and the Near East.

In Table XL the same total amounts, representing the regular expenditures of the Foreign Division, are analyzed in percentage form according to budget items. Since the grand totals vary only slightly from year to year, differences in proportion likewise indicate differences in actual payments. It will be seen that the small total reduction recorded in Table XXXIX (0.3 per cent) has been achieved primarily by reducing travel expenses in the United States. The field expenses, on the other

TABLE XL—PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF REGULAR EXPENDITURES OF THE YWCA FOREIGN DIVISION, 1925-1929.

	1925	1926	1927	1928	1929
Home Administration	7	10	9	8	8
Salaries and Expenses	54	50	51	53	53
Program Grants	22	24	25	25	26
Other Field Expenses.....	9	8	9	10	8
Total.....	85	82	85	88	87
Training in the United States..	1	*	*	*	1
Travel in the United States....	5	5	4	3	3
Other Expenses	1	2	2	1	1
Total.....	7	7	6	4	5
Special Items	1	1	*	*	*
Grand Total	100	100	100	100	100

* Less than .5 per cent.

hand, have been somewhat increased through the item for program grants. As was seen to be the case in the YMCA, the bulk of the money spent abroad is for salaries and expenses of American secretaries. In order to complete the picture and to indicate

TABLE XLI—ANALYSIS OF EXPENDITURES OF YWCA FOREIGN DIVISION ADMINISTRATION FOR THE YEAR ENDED DECEMBER 31, 1929.

Salaries, Secretaries	\$13,936.57
Salaries, Office Staff.....	6,552.88
Salaries and Wages, Substitute and Emergency.....	25.00
Appropriations for Other Work, Foreign Mission Boards..	1,791.00
Honorarium	80.00
Hospitality	111.57
Printed Pamphlets and Service Printing	165.46
Sundry Expense	32.44
Travel and Living, General	1,263.79
Travel and Living, Department Meeting	491.21
Travel and Living, Deputation Work	3,551.35
Travel and Living, Outgoing and Returning Secretaries ..	382.91
Travel and Living, Foreign Field Visitation	1,915.83
Sundries	5.00
Total.....	\$30,305.01

the typical expenditures of the home office, these are presented in detail for the year 1929 in Table XLI. Conspicuous in the figures presented is the absence of any significant amount for income production. The Foreign Division of the YWCA is not, itself, responsible for raising its funds and no share of the general cost of financing the work of the National Board is allocated to it. The items for "general travel" and "deputation work," representing visits of the administrative staff and furlough secretaries to the local Associations in the interest of the foreign work, constitute the Division's major contribution to the process of cultivating a constituency. Much of the work under "publicity" and "conference" likewise comes under this head, but the respective sums, it will be seen, are not significant.

METHODS AND PROBLEMS OF INCOME PRODUCTION, YMCA

Source of Income

Inasmuch as the two Foreign Divisions follow different methods with regard to raising money, it will be necessary to treat each organization separately in this matter. Taking up first the situation in the YMCA, the sources of income are presented in Table XLII. In order to facilitate reading, the figures are recorded only for every fifth year since the beginning of the work in 1889; the general situation and the trend may thus be readily visualized. No distinction has been made in this table between the contributions from Associations and those from individuals because the difference as it appears on the books of the YMCA denotes an administrative method rather than a source of supply. There is no way of differentiating, from available records, between the gifts made by local Associations, as such, and those collected by them from interested donors in the community. Since 1925, the local Associations have been asked to share increasingly the burden of income production and the tendency has been gradually to transfer the names of some of the leading contributors from one set of books to another.

It will be clear at once that the major source of income, indeed, practically the only one of any significance, is contribu-

TABLE XLII—SOURCE OF INCOME FOR YMCA FOREIGN WORK—EVERY FIFTH YEAR, 1889-1929.

YEAR	CONTRIBUTIONS, INDIVIDUALS AND ASSOCIATIONS	FOUNDATIONS, SOCIETIES AND TRUSTS	ENDOWMENT AND INTEREST	WAR AND STABILIZATION FUNDS	SPECIAL FUNDS *	MISCELLANEOUS	TOTAL
1889.....	\$ 7,774	....	....	....	....	....	\$ 7,774
1894.....	15,620	....	....	....	....	\$ 2,915	18,535
1899.....	31,735	....	....	....	....	1,271	33,006
1904.....	100,298	....	....	....	....	2,601	102,899
1909.....	192,951	....	....	....	....	215	193,166
1914.....	396,460	....	....	\$ 4,472	\$23,864	8,165	432,961
1919.....	932,071	....	\$ 2,708	128,697	....	63,785	1,127,261
1924.....	1,280,138	\$168,879	7,080	....	12,000	114,660	1,582,757
1929.....	1,414,309	108,120	26,290	203,945	31,959	57,081	1,841,704

* Includes Buildings and Smyrna Community Fund.

tions from the regular constituency. Assistance from foundations, societies and trusts began in 1918 but has decreased markedly (by 43 per cent) since the peak year of 1925.⁶ The war and stabilization funds were designed to meet special situations and therefore cannot be regarded as regular.

A comparison of the total income with the total expenditures (complete records are available in the files of the International Survey) indicates that each year, with the exception of 1927 and 1928, there has been a difference of only a few dollars between the two items since the beginning. This balancing of income and expenditure throughout a period of abnormally rapid growth must be regarded as phenomenal. It has been possible, however, only by means of emergency "special appeals" in addition to the regular contributions. These supplementary funds are included in the general figures for contributions and cannot be isolated except in the case of the stabilization fund already referred to. This latter amounted, in 1928, to \$746,800.68, and in 1929 to \$162,555.31. How heroic the struggle against overwhelming odds has been is suggested by a consideration of the amounts secured in contributions every year since 1925:

1925	\$1,249,873.75
1926	1,459,112.00
1927	1,273,829.07
1928	1,190,458.51
1929	1,414,309.22

The aggregate amount surpassed the total for any similar previous period. The unfortunate element in the situation, on the other hand, is that the effort has been made on the strength of a crisis psychology rather than on an enduring appreciation of the value of the foreign work.

Inasmuch as contributions represent the basic source of income for the Foreign Division, it will be advisable to study them more in detail. The accompanying graph (Graph IV) compares the rate of growth in contributions with that of the estimated realized income of the people of the continental United States

⁶ This decrease is almost wholly accounted for by the discontinuance of one appropriation from a foundation.

(cf. Graph II). As would be expected, the growth of contributions during the initial period of rapid expansion before the war was at a more rapid rate than the growth of national income. From 1913 on, however, it will be seen that the trends are very similar and indicate a very high degree of positive correlation. Although no causal relationship can be established, the influence of the growth (or decline) of national income on contributions nevertheless appears to be so strong that it might well serve the Foreign Division as a valuable check when the budget is being prepared.⁷

The Foreign Division was originally responsible for raising its own funds, but since 1925 responsibility for financing all the work of the National Council has been vested in an Income Production Department. For the purpose of soliciting funds this department has divided the territory of the United States into five "regions," namely: eastern, central, southern, western and Pacific. Since the foreign work is a joint enterprise of the YMCAs of the United States and Canada, responsibility for raising funds for the foreign work from Canadian donors is entrusted to a Canadian secretary on the payroll of the Foreign Division. The relative amounts secured in 1929 from the several regions and Canada, exclusive of reserves, were as follows:

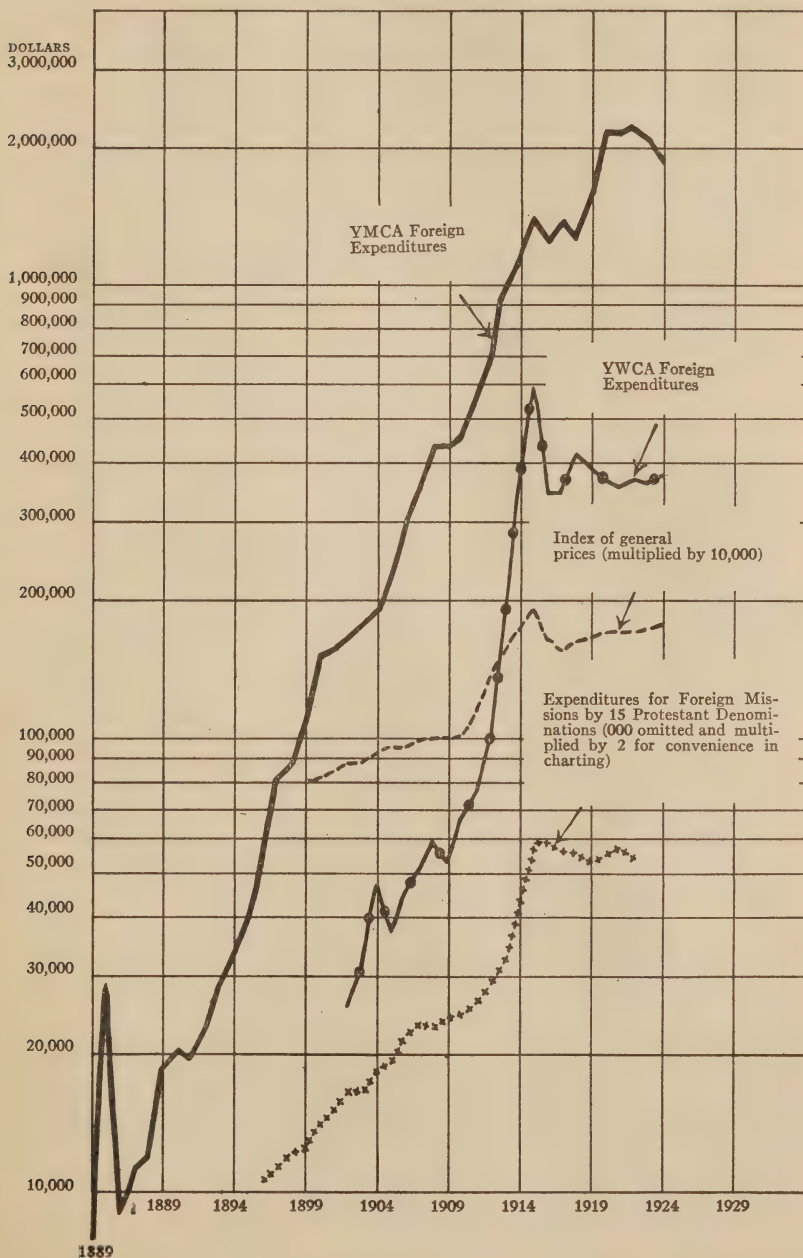
	<i>Amount</i>	<i>Per Cent of Total</i>
Eastern	\$ 492,557	40.36
Central	431,336	35.34
Southern	37,078	3.04
Western	114,948	9.42
Pacific	63,433	5.20
Canada	81,000	6.64
Total	<hr/> \$1,220,352	<hr/> 100.00

Some sample studies were made of the contribution income during the survey. Data will be presented first covering most of the contributions recorded as gifts from individuals at the headquarters of the eastern and central regions, for the period 1919-

⁷ For further reference see: Willford I. King: *The National Income and Its Purchasing Power*.

GRAPH IV

GROWTH OF YMCA AND YWCA FOREIGN EXPENDITURES COMPARED WITH EXPENDITURES FOR FOREIGN MISSIONS BY 15 PROTESTANT DENOMINATIONS AND WITH THE INDEX OF GENERAL PRICES COMPUTED BY THE FEDERAL RESERVE BANK OF NEW YORK



1929 inclusive. Owing to the various changes in record-keeping and also in making contributions (as for instance, through community chests) during these years, all entries could not be considered. Nor were the exceptionally large gifts from Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., included. The analysis, as finally made, comprised 11,481 gifts totalling the sum of \$4,392,541.00, or 46 per cent of all the contributions received in these two regions from both Associations and individuals, during the ten years under consideration.

These gifts were received from four sources, as follows:

	<i>Donors</i>	<i>Gifts</i>	<i>Amounts</i>
Individuals	5,017	11,262	\$4,240,500
Business Firms	79	141	16,711
Organizations	42	55	23,705
Estates	7	23	111,625
Total.....	5,145	11,481	\$4,392,541

Clearly, individuals constitute the most important source; they are represented by 97-98 per cent of the donors, the gifts, and the amounts received. Accordingly, they merit further study. In the following tabulation the 11,262 gifts are analyzed according to size and compared with a similar rating of the 5,017 individual donors. The latter was obtained by classifying those individuals who made a single contribution according to the size of that contribution, and by using the average gift in the same way for those who gave more than once annually, during the period.

<i>Size of Gift in Dollars</i>	<i>Donors Per Cent</i>	<i>Gifts Per Cent</i>
Less than 25.....	46	33
25- 99.99	29	26
100- 199.99	11	15
200- 999.99	9	15
1,000-4,999.99	4	8
5,000-9,999.99 .....	..	2
10,000 and over.....	1	1
	100	100

The indication is that when a donor repeats a gift in the smaller categories it tends to be on a diminishing scale, and *vice versa*

in the higher categories. Furthermore, although one-third of the gifts are in amounts less than \$25, the money received in gifts of this amount does not represent more than one per cent of the total funds secured. Conversely, nearly one-third of the money is derived from less than two per cent of the individual donors, namely, those whose gifts included one or more contributions of \$10,000 and over. Further light on the range and distribution of gifts is afforded by Table XLIII. Comparison of the median gifts with those at the average in the central tendency, clearly establishes the fact that the larger donors are carrying the larger part of the load. This, it must be added, is a state of affairs perfectly familiar to most philanthropic enterprises.

TABLE XLIII—MEDIAN, FIRST AND THIRD QUARTILE AND MIDDLE FIFTY PER CENT RANGE OF GIFTS, EASTERN AND CENTRAL REGIONS,* 1919-1929.

STATE	MEDIAN † AMOUNT OF GIFTS	QUARTILE 1 AMOUNT BELOW WHICH 25 PER CENT OF GIFTS FALL	QUARTILE 3 AMOUNT BELOW WHICH 75 PER CENT OF GIFTS FALL	QUARTILE ‡ AVERAGE OF MIDDLE 50 PER CENT OF GIFTS
Minnesota	116.40	24.49	543.25	259.38
Pennsylvania	108.90	21.90	565.50	271.80
Connecticut	68.45	36.02	225.45	94.72
New Jersey	68.25	21.10	310.25	144.58
Maryland	65.00	17.00	238.00	86.50
Michigan	62.60	17.82	230.40	106.29
Ohio	61.85	19.60	478.25	229.32
Massachusetts	56.88	20.50	338.75	159.12
New York	56.70	20.18	222.25	101.04
Illinois	45.98	17.82	178.55	80.36
Wisconsin	45.51	16.78	137.50	60.36
Rhode Island	43.18	20.00	105.55	42.77
Iowa	40.70	16.98	134.55	58.78
Indiana	38.72	14.88	105.20	45.16
District of Columbia.....	23.58	9.60	113.90	52.12
Vermont	12.13	6.56	26.68	10.06
New Hampshire	10.00	6.03	21.91	7.94

* Delaware, Maine, North and South Dakota, and West Virginia not included because of the small number of cases.

† Amount above which 50 per cent of the gifts fall, and below which 50 per cent of the gifts fall.

‡ When the quartile does not approximately coincide with the median, the distribution is skewed.

In the majority of cases, moreover, the same individual did not give more than once or twice during the period studied. Of the 5,017 donors, 2,806, or 56 per cent, made only one contribution, and 879, or 18 per cent, made two, thus accounting for nearly three-quarters of the total number. In Table XLIV

TABLE XLIV—ANALYSIS OF GIFTS FROM INDIVIDUALS, 1919-1929.

AMOUNT OF GIFT IN DOLLARS	NUMBER OF GIFTS PER DONOR											TOTAL
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	
Less than 25.	1,590	393	158	80	51	32	22	5	1	4	..	2,336
25- 99.99	764	281	172	88	46	39	24	11	6	4	1	1,436
100- 199.99	265	89	48	43	32	17	18	18	13	9	1	553
200- 999.99	131	87	50	35	39	27	23	14	25	25	10	466
1,000-4,999.99	54	24	20	12	18	11	13	7	14	20	6	199
5,000-9,999.99	2	5	3	2	1	..	..	..	2	1	4	20
10,000 and over ...	..	..	2	..	1	1	..	..	..	2	1	7
Total.....	2,806	879	453	260	188	127	100	55	61	65	23	5,017

the donors are classified both according to the size of their actual or average gift and according to the number of times they made annual contributions.

This table brings out the fact that it is the larger donors who repeat their gifts to the foreign work, while the small givers tend to lose interest. Methods of cultivation are of course reflected in this state of affairs. On the other hand, it is of interest to note that the bulk of those who gave more than six times and especially of those contributing nine, ten and eleven times, during the period, were in the middle categories of donors, that is to say, were contributing between \$100 and \$5,000 annually, rather than in the highest categories of all. It must be remembered, however, that the very substantial and regular Rockefeller gifts are not included in this analysis.

A second sample study was made of 1,514 gifts obtained from 229 Associations, in the same two regions and during the same period. While many of the smaller gifts represent contributions from the Association membership—in several cases, for instance, the only gift made was through a Hi-Y Club—most of the funds may be taken as ultimately coming from interested citizens outside. These Associations and contributions may be

classified according to the plan used above for the "individual" donors, as follows:

<i>Amount of Gift in Dollars</i>	<i>Associations Per Cent</i>	<i>Gifts Per Cent</i>
Less than 25.....	11	8
25- 99.99	25	20
100- 199.99	21	16
200- 999.99	30	34
1,000-4,999.99	8	16
5,000-9,999.99	3	3
10,000 and over.....	2	3
	<hr/> 100	<hr/> 100

While there is a marked difference in the number of Associations and of gifts in the class of less than \$25, the same tendency may be observed, as in the former analysis, for the larger donors to increase their annual gifts. Half the gifts, moreover, fall between \$100 and \$5,000, and they come from the most constant contributors, as may be seen from Table XLV.

TABLE XLV—ANALYSIS OF SINGLE AND AVERAGE GIFTS FROM ASSOCIATIONS, 1919-1929.

AMOUNT OF GIFT IN DOLLARS	NUMBER OF GIFTS PER ASSOCIATION											TOTAL
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	
Less than 25.	16	6	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	23
25- 99.99	9	10	4	8	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	33
100- 199.99	3	4	3	2	9	7	5	3	2	1	2	41
200- 999.99 .....	..	1	..	2	5	5	6	8	5	5	17	54
1,000-4,999.99 .....	..	..	..	..	1	5	8	11	13	12	14	64
5,000-9,999.99 .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	2	6	9
10,000 and over.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	4	5
Total.....	28	21	8	12	16	17	19	22	22	21	43	229

Some Problems of Income Production

The process of income production, as conducted by the National Council of the YMCA, is a highly personalized one. It is based on friendly personal contacts between the donors and the secretaries. Those among the latter charged with raising funds for the foreign work have all seen active foreign service and therefore are qualified to give first-hand information. Their ef-

forts are supplemented by visitation and addresses by furlough secretaries and foreign leaders, when they are in this country. Since 1923, there has been a systematic use of literature and educational programs with periodic institutes for laymen and secretaries, by means of which interest in the work abroad has been cultivated. In 1927, the National Council took over the Bureau of Information established in behalf of the war work, and since 1929 this bureau has served the Foreign Division exclusively.

The local Associations generally prefer to use their own methods in money raising. Campaign procedures of various kinds are often followed, especially when dealing with boys and dormitory men. These are, practically speaking, the only groups in the general membership that are habitually approached in the interest of the foreign work. In cultivating the larger givers outside the Association, the assistance of National Council secretaries is usually sought; such is indeed practically always the case in connection with donors contributing \$500 or more annually.

Owing, more than anything else, to the urgency of the situation, the emphasis has been predominantly on raising money and that quickly, rather than on the slower educational processes. There is little evidence of the latter type of effort in the local Associations, and, as already indicated, the men from headquarters have recently had to stress the desperate financial situation more than is desirable. But the process as visualized in New York has higher ideals. The Income Production Department has discouraged the use of any quota system and, while such a plan has been devised and to some extent used in behalf of the domestic program of the National Council, the budget of the Foreign Division has never been directly distributed in this way. Furthermore, there has been an effort to make the foreign work real and concrete to the donors, by assigning definite pieces of work to specific contributors. Any gift of \$100 or more may be assigned in this way if the donor so desires. While this is probably an excellent way to initiate interest in the work abroad, it must also be pointed out that there are grave dangers involved

unless care is taken to guide this interest as soon as possible into wider channels. Concern for and pride in a given project do not automatically become transferred to the work as a whole, and on account of too restricted a vision may seriously embarrass and hamper real statesmanship, especially when funds and personnel have to be reallocated.

A serious problem confronts the income production staff in the community chests. So far this has not been sufficiently extensive to influence the main trend of development (as may be seen from the preceding graphs) although chests have been a factor in the situation since the war. As a matter of fact, until August, 1930, only 391 cities and towns in the United States were registered as having chests at the headquarters of the Association of Community Chests and Councils. Of this number, 126, or about one-third, included during 1930 contributions to the work of the National Council of the YMCA, 93 to the home work and 34 to the foreign work, there being an overlap in one case. The local Associations have not made up their minds, apparently, as to the relative advantages and disadvantages of participation. In 1928, for instance, 11 Associations had withdrawn from their local chests and 10 others had joined. But the chests are very active, especially in Ohio, New York and Pennsylvania, where a large proportion of the contributors to the foreign work live, and so have been a cause of great uneasiness. Several studies and pronouncements on the subject have been made by representatives of the National Council, all of which indicate a growing desire on the part of all concerned to keep the budget of the foreign work outside the chests. The official policy is, indeed, to this effect. The reasons center around two main concerns, one of which seems eminently justified and the other less so.

Taking up the latter first, there is strong and wide-spread feeling that the chest exercises a restraining influence on expansion. This will be clear from a few illustrative quotations from the studies referred to and from interviews held during the present survey:

Chest officials are very fine to the "Y" but the problem is how to raise enough money.

The Chest plan relieves the staff of financial work, but at the same time is apt to cramp further expansion over a period of years.

The Chest does not assure the expanding current funds required for an expanding program.

When foreign work is put into the Chest, the amount is often cut down.

In view of the inflation of the Foreign Division's budget, and also of the rather excessively promotional psychology of YMCA secretaries generally (for essentially the same financial problems were disclosed in recent studies of local Associations in this country), this check from the outside cannot be regarded as an unqualified evil.

With reference to the other contention, the income production men are indubitably right when they deplore the loss of contact with their constituency, as a result of chest activity, and when they deprecate the educational wastage involved in the process:

In addition to our loss financially is the greater loss in personal contacts.

A single all-inclusive Omnibus Chest . . . reducing philanthropic impulse to one pledge and one check a year is in itself not a good thing.

The impersonal appeal of the Chest deadens the devotion of citizens to specific causes. . . .

The most serious thing about the Community Chest situation is that it creates a compulsory attitude towards giving.

Regardless of the financial implications, and the evidence is as yet too fragmentary and too conflicting to warrant any generalization on this score, it can nevertheless be confidently asserted that if the Foreign Division sacrifices its contacts with the individual donors of the country, it will thereby have lost one of its greatest opportunities to work in behalf of the world brotherhood to which it is committed.

METHODS AND PROBLEMS OF INCOME PRODUCTION, YWCA

Source of Income

As already indicated, the Foreign Division of the YWCA is not directly responsible for raising the funds required for its work. The New York Convention of 1924 authorized the National Board to spend not less than a third of its contribution income for "current work in other countries," and this amount has been approximately so expended ever since. The total income of the National Board is analyzed in Table XLVI for the years 1925-1929.

TABLE XLVI—SOURCES OF INCOME, IN DOLLARS, OF THE NATIONAL BOARD, YWCA, 1925-1929.

YEAR	CONTRIBUTIONS	BUSINESS FEATURES, ETC.	ENDOWMENT	TOTAL
1925	1,184,494	965,228	129,196	2,278,918
1926	1,106,018	942,989	132,340	2,181,347
1927	1,119,600	938,613	135,680	2,193,893
1928	1,102,552	970,924	140,167	2,213,643
1929	1,108,603	1,007,422	237,234	2,353,259
1929 Compared with 1925:				
Per cent In- crease .....	..	4	84	3
Per cent De- crease	6	..	..	..

It will be seen that while there was a slight increase in the total during the five years, due primarily to a substantial addition to the endowment funds, there was nevertheless quite a noticeable decrease in the contributions received. This source of income, it will likewise be observed, is the largest on which the National Board depends, representing 47 per cent of the total in 1929.

Certain of the funds received are designated for the foreign work. These are primarily contributions from individuals and Associations, but also to a small extent endowments. The proportion of the total income so designated has been steadily

declining. In 1925, it represented 12 per cent, and in succeeding years 11 per cent, 10 per cent, 9 per cent and 7 per cent, respectively. The expenditures of the Foreign Division, however, are not planned with reference to this income, since it is authorized to use a third of what the National Board receives in contributions. In 1925, the designated gifts met 72 per cent of the Foreign Division's expenditures, and in succeeding years 65 per cent, 61 per cent, 56 per cent and 49 per cent. Since the total expenditures were seen to vary only slightly from year to year during the period studied, this downward trend may be interpreted as indicating lessened preoccupation with the foreign work as distinct from the work as a whole.

Policy developments have a bearing on this situation. After 1922, an effort was made to develop support on a broader basis than had been the practice before. Projects and subdivisions of the work were discouraged as contribution objectives. Much of the money sent in, accordingly, from individuals as well as from Associations, is for "national support" and is automatically divided between the domestic and foreign programs in the ratio of two to one. Frequently such funds are sent in from quarters where there is a real interest in the foreign work and often in a specific aspect of it. Since 1928, however, the tendency has been to revive interest in projects because the other system was apparently not yielding the largest results. This reversal of policy, however, has not as yet had any noticeable effect on the steady downward trend, since 1925, of funds designated for the work abroad.

The distinction between contributions from "Associations" and those from "individuals" is technically a more real one in the YWCA than in the YMCA since the former are represented on the budgets of the local units. Furthermore, the contributions from Associations designated for foreign work are far greater in number than similar funds received from individuals, as may be seen from the annual proportions given below.

During this period, moreover, designated gifts from Associations decreased by 45 per cent, while those from individuals increased by 11 per cent. In this connection it will be of interest

	<i>Associa- tions Per Cent</i>	<i>Individuals Per Cent</i>	<i>Total Designated Gifts Per Cent</i>
1925	79	21	100
1926	76	24	100
1927	79	21	100
1928	70	30	100
1929	66	34	100

to compare the gifts designated for the foreign work with those designated for the domestic program and the Canal Zone service unit (which is listed separately on the books) during the same period. This is done in percentage form in the accompanying Table XLVII. The influence of the cultivation policy may

TABLE XLVII—PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF DESIGNATED GIFTS,
NATIONAL BOARD, YWCA.

<i>Associations</i>					
	<i>1925</i>	<i>1926</i>	<i>1927</i>	<i>1928</i>	<i>1929</i>
Foreign Designated Gifts...	27.3	25.8	26.3	21.3	17.9
Domestic Designated Gifts..	5.1	5.5	5.2	5.5	5.5
Canal Zone Service Unit....	...	...	...	...	...
Undesignated Gifts	67.6	68.7	68.5	73.2	76.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

<i>Individuals</i>					
	<i>1925</i>	<i>1926</i>	<i>1927</i>	<i>1928</i>	<i>1929</i>
Foreign Designated Gifts...	11.8	12.6	10.7	12.7	12.0
Domestic Designated Gifts..	21.0	11.2	9.8	11.9	14.2
Canal Zone Service Unit...	0.3	0.6	1.2	0.5	1.1
Undesignated Gifts	66.9	75.6	78.3	74.9	72.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

be noted in the increased proportion of "undesignated gifts" from Associations and individuals alike. It is interesting to note that while the proportional amount designated for domestic work remained practically constant, as far as the Associations were concerned, and decreased in the individual gifts, exactly the opposite is true with respect to the foreign work. In actual figures there was a decrease of 10 per cent in funds designated

for domestic work from Associations (as contrasted with a decrease of 45 per cent for foreign work) and a decrease of 26 per cent in gifts from individuals (as over against an increase of 11 per cent for foreign work). As a matter of fact, there was such a substantial increase in 1925 over the preceding year in gifts from Associations designated for domestic work that the total trend since 1924 shows an increase of 11 per cent. On the other hand, the decrease between 1924 and 1925 in gifts from individuals for the foreign work was sufficient to more than counteract the 11 per cent increase since.

The direction in which the contributions have been going may be readily visualized in Tables XLVIII A and B. The figures for the years 1925-1929 are computed in terms of the totals for 1924. It will be seen that the marked decrease in gifts from the Associations has been practically steady during the entire period, while the slight decrease in individual gifts indicates a general trend back to the 1924 level after the drop in 1925. Of further interest is the notable increase, especially among the individual donors, in giving to the program as a whole, as appears in the columns marked "general foreign work."

It is perfectly clear, accordingly, that it is in the local Associations that the decrease in designated funds for the foreign work is taking place. How much of this is temporary, owing to the

TABLE XLVIII A—TREND OF GIFTS DESIGNATED FOR YWCA FOREIGN WORK FROM ASSOCIATIONS.

1924 = 100

	1925	1926	1927	1928	1929
China	83.8	72.9	58.5	39.5	23.8
Japan	69.0	49.4	53.3	44.4	37.1
South America	95.8	103.6	78.6	70.2	64.7
India	93.2	73.6	118.3	77.5	62.4
Near East	116.2	62.1	59.8	68.0	46.8
Europe	95.2	70.8	40.9	23.1	7.7
Philippines .....	...	...	500.4	267.6	157.8
Mexico * .....	...	...	...	...	...
General Foreign Work.....	145.8	153.2	286.4	229.3	244.2
Total.....	91.3	78.2	79.1	61.8	50.3

* Contributions to Mexico were not made by Associations until 1928.

TABLE XLVIII B—TREND OF GIFTS DESIGNATED FOR YWCA FOREIGN WORK FROM INDIVIDUALS.

	1924 = 100				
	1925	1926	1927	1928	1929
China	95.1	69.9	32.1	45.7	28.5
Japan	71.7	93.9	39.8	5.0	60.2
South America	106.5	107.1	90.6	94.8	100.4
India	21.6	164.4	88.6	76.3	90.3
Near East	61.4	89.8	63.2	233.1	141.4
Europe	99.3	99.4	101.7	99.3	9.9
Philippines	15.7	472.4	724.4	724.5	685.0
Mexico	49.4	49.3	49.3	49.3	61.6
General Foreign Work	181.8	215.1	635.8	620.8	892.5
Total	88.6	92.1	81.4	98.2	98.5

difficult financial conditions throughout the country, and how much is due to the increased proportion of "undesigned gifts" to the National Board for all its work, cannot be ascertained from available records. When it is remembered, however, that the Foreign Division has been achieving its necessary reductions, in the past few years, by cutting down on travel and visitation to local Associations in the United States, there seems to be grave cause for concern.

Some Problems of Income Production

The amount needed by the National Board is raised annually on the quota system. The distribution was authorized and planned by convention action in 1924, and has been amended and adjusted by each succeeding convention. As now in operation the system distinguishes between rural, student, town, small city and large city Associations and counts on these to secure well over half (50 per cent-66 per cent) the required contributions. The assignment is determined by different considerations in each class of Associations, but the basic figure in every case is the average performance of a given Association during the previous three years, supplemented by a sum amounting to not more than five per cent of this amount to allow for expansion. The Finance Division supplements the contributions from Associations by gifts from individuals and a small amount from in-

dependent Girl Reserve clubs. The proportional distribution of the total amount during the five years studied is shown in Table XLIX.

TABLE XLIX—PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION, BY SOURCE, OF INCOME OBTAINED BY YWCA FINANCE DIVISION.

	1925	1926	1927	1928	1929
Associations					
City, Town, Rural.....	57.4	56.3	55.0	55.6	53.9
Student	5.0	4.4	4.3	3.6	3.5
Girl Reserve Clubs	0.5	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.4
Individuals	37.1	38.9	40.3	40.4	42.2
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

The total amounts as assigned and actually raised, during the same period, appear below:

	<i>Assigned</i>	<i>Raised</i>	<i>Per Cent</i> <i>+ or —</i>
1925	\$1,166,000	\$1,184,494	+16.0
1926	1,154,000	1,106,018	— 4.0
1927	1,184,000	1,119,600	— 5.0
1928	1,106,000	1,102,552	— 0.3
1929	1,136,000	1,108,603	— 2.0
1929 compared with 1925, per cent decrease	5	6	

The difficulties in the local situations are reflected not only in the decreasing assignment, especially since 1927, but also in the inability to raise even this reduced amount. In 1929, well over half the Associations (59 per cent) were giving less than their assigned quotas or were giving simply what they could without any fixed allotment. On the other hand, a third of the Associations were able to raise their full quotas or more.

The cultivation for "national support" heads up in the Finance Division of the National Board. The supplementary contributions are the responsibility of the national staff of traveling secretaries, of whom there were eight in 1930, in cooperation with volunteer workers, both national and local. The local Associations operate through their general secretaries and lay leaders, who in turn receive information and assistance, as desired, from

New York. The World Service Council is a special group, consisting of 63 members in 25 states, with a volunteer chairman and an executive secretary, which is charged with the responsibility of assisting in the interpretation of the work of the National Board to the local units, and in supplementing the contributions otherwise raised. Service to the local centers, in connection with the foreign work, consists in furnishing literature and publicity sent out from the Foreign and Finance Divisions, addresses and visits from secretaries on furlough (the so-called deputation work) or other representatives of the Foreign Division, and assistance in planning events and programs in the interest of world fellowship. In the past such service has been given only as requested, but recently it has been thought desirable to attempt cultivation more on the basis of the local need. Unfortunately, the plans of the Foreign Division in this regard have been badly hampered by the financial situation. Opportunities for advancing the interests of the national and international programs are afforded by the periodic large gatherings of the local Associations, and especially by the biennial national conventions. Such opportunities, notably within recent years, have been ably capitalized.

The special "regional" secretaries of the Finance Division are not selected on the basis of previous foreign service. Most of them, however, have traveled abroad in some connection and, on such occasions, have often been asked to do a special piece of investigation for the Foreign Division. The interest of givers in the foreign work depends in the last analysis upon these secretaries. It is they who approach the individual donors and they have considerable contact with representatives of the Associations. These secretaries impress one, generally speaking, as being absorbed in the problem of quotas and in the difficulties of the local units, rather than as actively concerned with the facts and ideals of the foreign work. Little effort is made by the Foreign Division to capitalize the enthusiasm of other headquarters secretaries, such as the town and city staff, or the representatives of the industrial or rural departments, all of whom travel period-

ically over the entire country and few of whom know very much, apparently, about the work abroad.

As was seen to be the case in the YMCA, a real problem for headquarters is encountered in the community chest. For some years the National Board has been making a study of the situation as it affects the local Associations, and in the spring of 1930 received answers to a questionnaire from 89 per cent of the 210 city and town Associations, and some student Associations, that were participating in chests at the time. Of special interest is the fact that three-quarters of them answered the question, "Are you better satisfied to be in the community chest than to put on your own campaign for funds?" in the affirmative. Nevertheless, the chest boards have been very critical of the Association quotas and there has been a marked tendency towards cutting the amount requested. Part of this was due to the financial difficulties of the chests themselves, but more, perhaps, to the widely reported lack of interest in national or international enterprises which appears to characterize these community organizations.

BUDGET BUILDING AND FINANCIAL POLICY

There is little evidence, so far as the YMCA is concerned, of any very far-sighted or realistic approach to the matter of building the budget. The procedure is briefly as follows: The expenses of general administration and maintenance, including income production, are shared on a pro rata basis by all subdivisions of the National Council. Each such subdivision works out its own ordinary operating budget in the first instance. This is done in the light of the actual experience of the preceding year and of a set of policies, drawn up each February by the executive cabinet and checked by the executive body *ad interim* of the National Council, known as the General Board. In the case of the Foreign Division, the first step is to send personal and field budget forms to the North American secretaries abroad to be filled out by them, the latter in consultation with the several national movements. The executive officer of each administrative area of the Foreign Division, in New York, then integrates these budgets and presents them for review and adjustment, first of

all to his colleagues on the staff, and then to the Foreign Committee and the Income Production staff. It is at this point that the lack of realism makes itself apparent. The Foreign Committee has apparently let itself be guided more by the urgency of the need and by faith in the availability of resources than by sober contemplation of the facts. The opinions of the men entrusted with administering the foreign work and with raising the necessary contribution income have not received the attention they deserved. Budgets have accordingly been approved markedly in excess of the recommendations of these men. When the Foreign Committee reaches its decision its budget is handed on to the General Board for review and integration into the total budget. This body, in turn, submits the figures for final action, in the fall, to the National Council itself. It should be pointed out that both these bodies have, to a degree, counteracted the optimism of the Foreign Committee by reducing the authorized contribution income, the larger part of which is raised in behalf of the foreign work, by an average of about \$41,500 a year since 1926.

The National Board of the YWCA, on the other hand, has developed a more thoroughgoing system. The evolution of the plan may be traced in succeeding actions of the biennial national conventions. In 1920, at Cleveland, a national finance committee was authorized to function between conventions. In 1922, on the recommendation of this committee, it was resolved to determine the total amount required in contributions by the following considerations:

- a. Service needed by local Associations
- b. Requirements of national and foreign program
- c. Actual amount received for National Board in preceding year
- d. The general financial condition of the country.

In 1924 it was voted to keep the amount asked for in contributions within the amount actually received in the previous fiscal year, and provision was made for a national budget reviewing committee. This body was appointed (in succeeding conventions *elected*) for the biennium. It was made up of lay and profes-

sional leaders, and was charged with examining the budget in detail. Finally, in 1928, at Sacramento, it was voted that,

effective with the year 1928 it be the policy of the National Board in making its annual budget for current expenditures . . . to use as a basic budget difference [*i.e.*, amount to be secured in contributions] the average of the total amount of contributions received for the general budget in the three-year period preceding the year in which the budget is being prepared. . . . If in the judgment of the National Board conditions are such as to demand and to warrant change upward or downward, it shall lie within the discretion of the National Board to authorize a budget difference which shall be less than its basic amount or shall be not more than 5 per cent in excess of this basic amount.

The above limitation of budget increases is sufficient to keep the expenditures to some extent in line with the rate of increase of the national income. This budgetary control is an excellent plan. The budget for the foreign work is prepared by the administration of the Foreign Division and then integrated into the total budget of the National Board. It should be pointed out, however, that the finance secretaries in charge of raising the money have no part in the process of determining expenditures.

Neither Foreign Division has developed very much in the way of policy for appropriating funds to the several movements abroad or for entering or withdrawing from any field. Each case is treated on its merits and such considerations as the relative needs of a movement and its ability to take care of itself, the value of a service as a demonstration, the future results to be expected, and the peculiar obligations of the North American movements in the situation, enter into the decision reached. Often enough, as is very natural, the priorities may be established simply by the eloquence of the respective pleaders. With regard to withdrawal, the YMCA has recently made a determined effort in its European area to estimate the period of needed assistance from North America and to chart it for each movement on a diminishing scale. Something of this sort, especially if the peculiar financial problems and attitudes within each country are given due consideration, ought to be of great value for

both movements everywhere. There is danger, however, that such "permanent establishment projects," as they are called, will be too arbitrary and that inaccurate measures will be employed in the effort to gauge progress towards the goal of natural autonomy on the part of a movement. This mistake has been made in the past.

THE DONORS TO THE FOREIGN WORK

Several attempts were made to discover what sort of people, on the whole, were interested in contributing to the foreign work of the Associations, and what their attitudes were toward it. It was possible to ascertain from the records at headquarters the place of residence of all but three of the 5,017 donors to the YMCA, whose gifts were analyzed above. Omitting those states in which fewer than 100 donors were found (namely the Dakotas, Delaware, Maine, Maryland, New Hampshire, Rhode Island and West Virginia), the place of residence by states in order of frequency is as follows:

Illinois	737
Ohio	556
Indiana	493
New York	486
Michigan	445
Pennsylvania	336
New Jersey	292
Minnesota	280
Connecticut	275
Massachusetts	255
Iowa	252
Vermont	176
District of Columbia.....	110
Wisconsin	103

This analysis, it should be remembered, is of the eastern and central regions only, which together constitute the source of three-quarters of the annual contributions. Of further interest is the distribution according to the size of the cities in which the donors live:

	<i>Number of Donors</i>	<i>Per Cent of Total</i>
Less than 50,000 inhabitants	2,429	48
50,000- 99,999 "	663	13
100,000-499,999 "	1,031	21
500,000-999,999 "	475	10
1,000,000 and more "	416	8
Total	5,014	100

The central group (or "middle 50 per cent") live in cities of less than 500,000 inhabitants. It will be seen that the majority live in the smaller cities and towns of the more industrialized parts of the country. Many of these centers are within easy reach, of course, of great cities like New York, Chicago and Philadelphia, and undoubtedly many of the donors conduct their businesses in these places. It is, however, of interest to note that they are in general of the small city and suburban type.

The information from the YWCA is different in kind but tells essentially the same story. It is possible to classify geographically all the Associations that sent in designated contributions to the foreign work in 1930. There were 95 such centers, including the Associations in Washington, D.C., and Honolulu. Far in the lead of all other states are Pennsylvania (19 Associations), New York (11), Ohio (10), and New Jersey (8). Classified according to the size of the cities in which they are located, these Associations are distributed as follows:

	<i>Number of Associations</i>	<i>Per Cent of Total</i>
Less than 50,000 inhabitants	33	35
50,000- 99,999 "	25	26
100,000-499,999 "	28	30
500,000-999,999 "	5	5
1,000,000 and more "	4	4
Total	95	100

The local YWCAs most interested in the foreign work, accordingly, are located in cities of less than 500,000 in the more industrialized part of the country, and especially in the central eastern states. Moreover, nearly half the funds they contributed

in 1930 (46 per cent) came from cities of 100,000 to 500,000 inhabitants and nearly three-quarters (72 per cent) from the states in the central east.

Many interviews were held with secretaries and lay leaders concerned with raising money for the foreign work, in the local Associations of both movements. It was also possible to obtain interviews with a limited number of the contributors themselves. The area covered was in general that most favored by the donors, roughly, from New York west to Chicago and Minneapolis, north to Toronto, and south to Washington, D.C.

The contributing constituency of the two Foreign Divisions tends to follow sex lines. The donors to the YMCA are predominantly men; not more than 5 per cent of those contributing over \$250 are women, and many of these are simply continuing the former gifts of male relatives who have died. Similarly, there are very few men among the donors to the YWCA. But they appear to represent much the same class of people. Perhaps the language used to characterize givers most frequently and most emphatically was that they were church-going people with a definite background of religious training. Curiously enough, this was mentioned most often by the YMCA representatives, and may be illustrated by the following quotations:

Very few men give to the work consistently without a religious background. . . .

Most men who give were raised in the church and believe in the missionary cause.

. . . in the great majority of cases, people do not respond unless they were raised in the church.

Most of our givers are strong church men.

Those who give at least nominally believe in the church. They were raised in church families.

Perhaps this was more taken for granted among the women, for their remarks certainly imply that their contributors likewise come from the regular church-going families. Both constituencies are almost entirely Protestant in religious affiliation.

While the interest in the foreign work on the part of donors

owes much to church influence, it is equally clear that these men and women usually distinguish rather sharply between the Associations and the mission boards, with reference to policy and program, and greatly prefer the former:

YMCA: Some of the donors are more interested in the YMCA than in their churches because it is building up youth into strong manhood.

But the "Y" has an appeal on different lines from church mission work; the YMCA develops the different sides of a man.

The missionary work of the churches has reached the poorer classes; the "Y" secretaries are reaching the educated class.

I think the "Y" foreign work has a broader appeal than the church missionary work. . . . There's the broad program, the training of leadership, the physical work, the fact of the upkeep coming from them and only salaries from us.

The "Y" is not trying to keep its hands on the work; it is glad to relinquish it as soon as the countries can take it over.

YWCA: The YWCA tells them about Christianity, but they do it along with the rest; they don't do just conversions. . . . They develop native leadership. . . .

The YWCA is like the church work in many ways, but one thing different is that the YWCA never goes into a country until they are asked.

The YWCA's method is one of developing local resources and only staying until the country can run it themselves.

Another point of view that obviously goes back to religious training, and one that was quite frequently encountered in these interviews, is expressed in the feeling that some sort of benevolent outreach is needed for the moral development of an individual or a movement, and that, on general principles, "it is better to give than to receive."

YMCA: Any institution which confines its activities to itself is doomed. . . . They ought to have foreign interests for their own good.

We try to develop a wholesome Christian attitude; I think it does a fellow good to give. . . .

YWCA: I feel that every organization should get beyond its own borders. . . . If the YWCA existed in this country just for itself, it

would grow too selfish. . . . As for the worthwhileness of the foreign work, I take that for granted and have no very clear idea of just what it is or how much of a place it fills.

But, if the fundamental attitude of giving was developed by the church, another powerful factor in the situation is knowledge of the Associations in this country. This will already have been apparent in the distinctions drawn between the programs of the Foreign Divisions and of the mission boards. The appeal urged more often than any other, perhaps, and to membership groups (especially Hi-Y clubs and Girl Reserves) as well as to larger donors, is that of extending to the youth of other countries the same privileges that are offered by the Associations here. Those familiar with money raising, however, generally felt that added motives are needed, and that without either religious background or an interest in public affairs giving on this basis has a tendency to become perfunctory and intermittent. This Association loyalty, moreover, expresses itself in a rather impersonal blanket endorsement more often than in any specific interest, but the latter is not entirely missing:

YMCA: We have supported the foreign work because we have always felt that it was part of the YMCA job. . . . We don't look upon it as anything special.

The majority give because they believe in the "Y" program and they know foreign work is in that program. . . .

They are not propagandizing the movement, but the appeal that counts is that they are affording the same privilege to the underprivileged boy in those foreign countries as he had here.

YWCA: I believe in the YWCA and since foreign work is part of the YW program, I believe in that also.

They are trying to put over the same kind of program there as here. . . .

The feeling was encountered to a considerable extent that the Associations were contributing to world peace and universal brotherhood. In general, this was thought of in connection with the Christian message, broadly interpreted, perhaps more than with internationalism in the ordinary sense. The latter was not

entirely absent, however, and was considered to be the main argument for attracting donors who are not affiliated with the church.

YMCA: I believe that the YMCA . . . is doing more good in furthering world peace than any other organization. . . . If we Christianize and civilize these boys, it is going to bring a real world fellowship.

If men believe in peace, the work of the "Y" will appeal to them because it has been an advocate of international understanding.

YWCA: In this day and age, it is apparent that people have got to become more tolerant and more world-minded and I believe that the YW is helping to bring this about.

One effective appeal open to the YWCA and not to the men's organization is that of the woman's movement. There is obviously more power in the challenge to women to interest themselves in the women and girls of other countries, in these days of increasing political, educational and economic emancipation, than to men to concern themselves with foreign men and boys.

The Near East appeals as a place where women are coming into public life.

One of our main appeals is that the YWCA is an avenue of democratic expression; it was one of the first organizations in which women could do creative thinking together. . . . It is an organization . . . in which the women make their own policies.

My best appeal to donors is to describe what is happening to board and committee women in our foreign Associations.

The International Survey was privileged to use the raw data of a study made by a YMCA committee in another connection, in 1927, of 165 of the lay donors to the foreign work (as distinguished from secretaries). The composite picture presented by the personal data sheets filled out by these individuals, most of whom were men, is of interest at this point. According to these documents, the average donor to the YMCA foreign work, some five years ago, was a native-born business man (a manufacturer in most cases) of distinctly "Nordic" stock (the group were almost homogeneous racially) somewhere in the fifties,

rather well-to-do, city-bred and college-educated. He was, furthermore, a church-going Protestant, usually of the Presbyterian or Methodist Episcopal denomination. Among the "chief interests other than business" asked for in the questionnaire, those that received by far the highest mention (97 times) were of a religious nature, including the church, the YMCA and missions. Next in order came welfare work (mentioned 36 times) and then outdoor sports (mentioned 30 times). The donors did not appear to be very much interested in reading or other cultural occupations, and attributed their interest in foreign countries overwhelmingly to the religious atmosphere of their early home life and to the training they received in church and Sunday school.

This picture harmonizes readily with the impressions derived from interviewing persons most familiar with the donors of 1930. The resemblance is more striking in the YMCA than among the women, and it is perhaps significant, in this connection, that the latter have not succeeded in building up anything like the constituency developed by the men. Nor is the picture, apparently, as accurate today as it once was, even among the men. The feeling was very widely encountered that the process of money raising was getting more difficult all the time, and that as the old missionary appeal lost its force, nothing of equal power was being developed to take its place.

YMCA: The old crowd who were so interested in foreign work have died and left; the young men do not have the same vision.

It's hard to raise the money for foreign work; it is getting less easy all the time.

It doesn't seem to me that the interest in foreign work is increasing any; it is hard to get people to give money now.

We used to have some of the outstanding men here and have a noon luncheon or dinner, but we haven't followed that the last few years; it's hard to get men out.

We have had meetings through the years, with these returned secretaries to speak, but we find it increasingly difficult to get people out to meetings of that sort.

YWCA: There are not a very large group here really interested.

We have a list of pretty old givers; I'd like to change that. . . .

The newly rich don't give; it's the small number with the background in which giving was inherent.

There are, of course, still missionary minded women on the boards. . . . We're all trying to get a new approach to foreign work. . . . It's hard to say these things about democratic organizations and disallow the hope in some women's minds that it is their mission work. As a national organization, we do not lead as much as we think we do.

As far as cultivation methods go, the testimony from both movements was overwhelmingly that the foreign work was its own best advocate. Personal contact with secretaries who are or have been in the work abroad, speeches by outstanding leaders and especially by the nationals of other countries, or visits by donors to Associations abroad were practically admitted everywhere as the most powerful, if not the only really effective, ways of arousing and preserving interest in the Foreign Divisions.

YMCA: Foreign work has been sold by foreign work speakers.

I believe in it because I have friends in the work in China.

The speakers from abroad have had a great deal to do with the interest in foreign work.

I wasn't sold on foreign work until I went and saw it. . . . It loomed up with tremendous force. . . . I decided to help in every way I could.

I was not interested in the "Y" before 1923. That year I took a trip to fifteen countries in Europe. . . . I'm strongly in favor of the foreign work now.

— who was general secretary here, made a trip around the world and when he came back, he put foreign work on the map here . . .

YWCA: The best chance you have is with the people who travel.

It is necessary to take a national secretary who can present the thing graphically and who knows the detail of the work. . . .

Mrs. G. has just come back from abroad and her enthusiasm is marvelous.

In both Associations an effort is made to keep the larger donors fairly well informed about the work. Details of policy or special problems can obviously seldom be shared, however, and the donors as a group know only the broad general outlines of the work. Nor do the local Associations, as a rule, know very

much about the work. A questionnaire to secretaries formerly in foreign service was sent out during the present survey, which included a section asking for evidence of intelligent understanding, or the reverse, of the work of the Foreign Divisions on the part of the donors or the Association members. The answers were on the whole vague and haphazard. Little could be cited to indicate any far-reaching appreciation of the work or any connection it might have with international problems, nor was there any serious criticism. This is quite in line with the result of the interviews; indifference and apathy were reported as the great stumbling blocks in the business of cultivation, rather than much active opposition.

In this connection, it is noteworthy that both groups of secretaries answering the questionnaire just referred to indicated their feeling that the movements were not effectively using the foreign experience which these secretaries had acquired. Unless they were able to fill one of the relatively few positions at headquarters, both men and women alike felt that their foreign experience was of no concrete use in getting them into other work, while the loss of professional contact during the years abroad and impaired health were something of a drawback. Practically all of them, on the other hand, considered the experience a personal asset. Ways in which they felt they had been able to use their experience, both in the Association and in the several communities outside, included talks on the customs and manners of other peoples, or on some aspects of the political or socio-economic situation abroad, or specifically on the foreign Associations and what they were trying to do. While the secretaries in each group felt rather strongly that the respective Foreign Division was not capitalizing their experience, except perhaps in small measure when they first returned, the men were far less emphatic about it and it was clear from their answers that the more resourceful of their number could create opportunities for themselves. The YWCA secretaries, on the other hand, complained that they were not given a chance to tell their story even when they wanted to. The policy of the YWCA Foreign Division of economizing on travel and "deputation work" must be remembered in this con-

nection. From the answers of both groups, but more directly from those of the women, the definite suggestion arises that some organizational scheme be devised to make the foreign experience of returned secretaries more available to the administration in connection with policy building, educational work or money raising. Both groups said that, as a result of their personal experience, they could in general join whole-heartedly in the effort to build up the foreign work; those among the women who were less enthusiastic gave as their chief reason dissent from the policy of the Foreign Division rather than any unfavorable reaction to the foreign work itself.

By way of brief summary it may be said that the donors to both Foreign Divisions apparently represent the better established, liberal, well educated, church-minded group of the country, of the tradition molded by Protestant and Anglo-Saxon ideals. They are gradually being supplanted, however, by a newer type of American citizen who is not being won to the cause of foreign work. Singularly little has been done with internationalism as a motivating ideal. Both Foreign Divisions may confidently rely on their work abroad to win friends for themselves, once the connection is effectively made between this work and the donors in North America, yet neither is apparently doing what might be done with the foreign experience of the returned secretaries.

FINANCIAL MATTERS IN CANADA

As explained earlier in this report, the foreign work of the North American YMCAs is a joint enterprise of the movements in Canada and the United States. In the YWCA there is no similar arrangement and each movement has its own Foreign Division. The problems of each Canadian movement will therefore be treated separately.

The situation in the YMCA was brought about when the North American work was reorganized, in 1925, and the International Committee, as far as administration is concerned, was replaced by two independent national organizations. The foreign work was, however, continued as a joint enterprise. There has been on the staff of the National Council of the Canadian

YMCA, since that time, a Canadian secretary who is regarded as a member of the income production staff of the National Council of the YMCA of the United States. An annual budget of some \$10,000 is contributed by the latter body to cover the salary, travel and office expenses involved. This secretary has seen foreign service and is entrusted with cultivating, and soliciting from, the Canadian constituency of the foreign work. Canada is not regarded as a "region" in the same administrative sense as are the five sections in the United States, but rather as a junior partner. The understanding is that as much as can be raised each year will be contributed, but there is no definite assignment or quota. The amount secured represents some four or five per cent annually of the contribution income of the Foreign Division.

The Canadian committee on foreign work assigns to the several local Associations an annual quota based on their "past performance plus," to use the phrase of the Canadian income secretary. The bulk of the contributions comes from Montreal and Toronto. In Toronto the practice is followed of soliciting gifts to specified objects, such as a given secretary's salary—a practice already described as widely favored by the YMCA in the United States—but this is not the case anywhere else. In Montreal, as well as in the other local Associations, contributions are made to the foreign work as a whole.

In 1929, two-thirds of the money raised came from Montreal and Toronto. About 23 per cent of the amount from the former city came from an institution, as was the case with six per cent of Toronto's share. All the rest, both from those Associations and from others scattered throughout the Dominion, was secured from some 7,000 contributors plus large numbers of small group contributions from boys in the several memberships. According to the statement of the Canadian secretary in charge of income production, about 300 of the 7,000 made contributions of \$25 or more, in the following proportion:

<i>No.</i>	<i>Amount</i>
200	\$ 25- 99.99
80	100-499.99
20	500 and over

While, in general, the trend is in the direction of securing smaller amounts from a larger number of donors, and of making the foreign work a real concern, particularly of the boy membership, the actual number of larger donors has also been increasing during the last five years. Before the war, there were estimated to be not more than 100 individuals on the list of regular contributors who gave over \$25. In 1929, there were 110 donors in this category in Montreal alone, of whom 36 gave \$100 or more and 10 gave \$500 or more. The largest single gift secured in 1929 was an unusual one of \$7,500 from a gentleman in Toronto whose regular contribution amounts to \$2,500.

The methods relied on are chiefly personal visits and talks by outstanding men connected in some way with the foreign work. Regular campaigns are seldom conducted and are relatively short and loosely organized. The community chest offers no problem because the Canadian Associations have as a rule avoided participation; it is of interest, however, that in cases where Associations have joined the chests they have never been refused permission to raise money for foreign work.

There has been a marked attempt to combine educational processes with the raising of funds. It is the general policy to have such addresses as are made in behalf of the foreign work rather short, perhaps ten minutes or so, and to reserve the rest of the available time for questions. Boys work secretaries are increasingly trying to keep boys informed about the cause to which they are contributing. The larger donors are, of course, regularly visited and kept up-to-date by the same plan of action as is followed in the United States. An idea of the approach and emphasis favored by the secretary at headquarters, in whom the whole process ultimately heads up, is best conveyed in his own words. According to his statement, the chief motive of the work is

to develop an appreciation of the worthwhileness of world service, rather than the appalling need. . . . Only enough is told about degradation and the evils of these foreign lands to show that much has been accomplished and can be accomplished. Much is made of the purpose of the Association to change neighborhood to brotherhood, and the

interdependence of all parts of the world on each other. Much is also made of the uniqueness of Jesus, and the need of all men for His revelation.

The Canadian YWCA has had an organized Foreign Department since 1904. It maintained some two or three secretaries in mission countries until the war years, when it increased its work to take care of more than twice that number. Since 1920 drastic reductions have been necessary, in accordance with the world situation. At this time the student movements of Canada seceded from the regular Associations and were organized independently. This meant considerable loss to the Canadian YWCA, since students had been dependable contributors to the foreign work. The national office of the organization was obliged to reduce its staff from forty to eight secretaries in the period 1920-1922, and the foreign work has consequently ever since been one of several responsibilities carried by the secretary in charge. In spite of these retrenchments at headquarters, the number of secretaries maintained abroad has been on the increase again in recent years. There were in 1929 seven such secretaries.

The total income and expenditure of the National Council of the Canadian YWCA are presented in Table L. From about a quarter to a third of the total resources available for the entire work is considered an appropriate proportion for the expenses in the foreign field. In addition, a small allotment from the general budget is made to the work for expenses in Canada. In 1925 and 1926, two of the secretaries in the field were only partially supported by the Canadian YWCA, which accounts for the relatively low field expenses. In 1929, one of the secretaries was home on furlough and gave part of her time to service at headquarters.

The income is all derived from individual contributions and about 70 per cent comes from the rank and file of the membership. A special effort is made to have the girls think of the foreign work as their enterprise, and they take active part in the process of raising funds. The remaining 30 per cent is given by a small group of devoted friends, nearly all of whom have served the foreign work either on the staff or on the committee. The

TABLE L—DISTRIBUTION OF INCOME AND EXPENDITURES OF THE YWCA OF CANADA FOR THE YEARS 1925 TO 1929.

INCOME

YEAR	GENERAL NATIONAL COUNCIL INCOME	FOREIGN DEPARTMENT INCOME	TOTAL INCOME
1925	\$21,803.81	\$7,852.67	\$29,656.48
1926	22,375.13	9,206.27	31,581.40
1927	24,633.69	9,761.71	34,395.40
1928	27,733.54	8,726.36	36,459.90
1929	28,715.94	9,305.79	38,021.73

EXPENDITURES

YEAR	GENERAL NATIONAL COUNCIL EXPENDITURES	FOREIGN * DEPARTMENT SHARE OF GENERAL BUDGET	AMOUNT SPENT ON FOREIGN FIELD BY FOREIGN DEPARTMENT	TOTAL EXPENDITURE
1925	\$21,821.84	\$794.71	\$ 6,752.06	\$28,573.90
1926	24,015.96	619.60	8,741.21	32,757.17
1927	26,743.80	436.08	11,005.60	37,749.40
1928	28,563.60	426.03	10,695.31	39,258.91
1929	32,449.94	851.24	6,251.29	38,701.23

* Included in first column.

individual gifts range, for the most part, between \$5 and \$25, and only rarely amount to \$100 or more. According to the statement of the national finance secretary, money raising itself has not been the chief difficulty in Canada, but rather securing the desired leadership. Foreign work is considered a higher type of service than work in the home field, and is consequently given precedence in recruiting. So far, the Canadian YWCA secretaries have always gone to so-called mission lands, specifically India, Japan and China.

FINANCIAL PROBLEMS ABROAD

In order to complete the picture of the financial situation, it will be necessary to examine the degree to which the several movements abroad are independent of the Foreign Divisions, as far as their regular operations are concerned. A brief sketch will accordingly be presented of the source of income for current expenditures.

The figures are offered first for the central headquarters of the better established movements in Table LI. These include the Associations of the Far East and India and also the Continental Committees of the two movements in South America. In general, the figures throughout this section are for the year 1929; in a few instances those for 1928 were the latest available.

TABLE LI—PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION, BY SOURCE, OF THE CURRENT INCOME OF THE CENTRAL ORGANIZATIONS OF THE OLDER MOVEMENTS.

	CHINA	INDIA	KOREA	JAPAN	PHILIPPINES	SOUTH AMERICA
YMCA						
Foreign Division	35	50	78	18	65	75
Other Movements	4	7	..	..	..	..
Government Grants .....	..	10	..	..	..	..
Local Contributions	25	19	9	11	19	*
Local Associations	6	8	5	12	9	12
Fees and Dues	12	..	..	42	..	9
Endowment and Investment	17	6	..	16	..	2
Miscellaneous	1	..	8	1	7	2
	100	100	100	100	100	100

* Less than 0.5 per cent.

YWCA						
Foreign Division	59	47	..	18	..	98
Local Contributions	10	..	..	3	..	..
Local Associations	5	47	..	14	..	..
Fees and Dues	11	..	..	38	..	..
Endowment, Interest, etc...	15	6	..	25	..	2
Miscellaneous .....	..	..	..	2	..	..
	100	100	..	100	..	100

It has been the policy of the Foreign Divisions to make grants only to national organizations, once such bodies have been created, rather than to any local Association directly. The table indicates that these bodies are still rather heavily dependent on North American aid. In China and Japan, where the proportion is not so high as elsewhere, the item "fees and dues" represents income from buildings (*i.e.*, rentals) which were originally gifts from North America, so that the situation is not fundamentally

different there. The local constituency is not very large in the light of the fact that the national organizations of North America derive the bulk of their income from contributions, representing both Associations and individuals. This constituency abroad, moreover, draws heavily on the resident British and American community. Exact figures were not sent in from Japan and the Philippines in this regard, but the impression derived from field observation, especially in the former country, was that the situation probably resembled that found elsewhere. An exception is afforded by the YMCA of China, which derives four-fifths of its contribution income from Chinese firms and individuals.

Turning to the local situation, the composite picture is presented for the Associations in the same areas, in Table LII.

TABLE LII—PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION, BY SOURCE, CURRENT INCOME OF LOCAL ASSOCIATIONS IN THE ORIENT AND LATIN AMERICA.

	YMCA		YWCA	
	Far East & India	Latin America	Far East & India	Latin America
Foreign Division .....	..	..	..	5
National Headquarters	*	4	..	..
Government Grants	2	..	2	..
Local Contributions	10	25	15	41
Fees and Dues	78	68	74	54
Interest and Endowment.....	5	..	6	..
Miscellaneous	5	3	3	..
	100	100	100	100

* Less than 0.5 per cent.

Since there are no national organizations of the YWCA as yet in Latin America, such funds as are contributed by the Foreign Division are given directly to the Association in question rather than through the Continental Committee. This procedure is not followed in the YMCA where responsibility for the weaker Associations is not taken by the Foreign Division even in the absence of a national organization. The small amount distributed to local Associations by the National Council of the India YMCA is approximately covered by the contributions to this body from the stronger Associations.

It will be seen that the local Associations are managing by themselves almost entirely. Unfortunately many of them are not in a flourishing state. The disturbed economic and political conditions, especially in the Orient, have, of course, much to do with this state of affairs, but it is also true that the national organizations tend to be aloof and interested in other matters. It should be said that the Continental Committees of South America are not in the same category as the several national councils or committees, as they are called. The YWCAs of Latin America are still very much in the early stages and heavily dependent on North American personnel. The expenses of the Continental Committee consist simply in the support of the North American staff entrusted with stimulating and strengthening the work in the several countries. As soon as national organizations can be built up, the Continental office is expected to close. In the YMCA, the same evolution is not contemplated as yet, but the major expense of this Continental Committee (roughly half) is for the system of training schools known as the Instituto Tecnico. This enterprise is designed to meet a fundamental requirement of the local Associations and so is directly tied up with their life and progress. Interest in projects other than those of direct concern to the local situation is especially marked in the national bodies of the YMCAs of China and India. These have already been described elsewhere in this report. The experience of the local YMCAs in these two countries is accordingly of special interest.

The local YMCAs of China have been able to meet expenses fairly well, but a slight indebtedness on current expenses was reported in 1929 by 15 out of the 38 centers, and on property by 11 centers. Of the 13 Associations studied intensively for the survey, 5 reported an expenditure of (Mex) \$100 or more for interest on loans. This, in view of the exceedingly trying times, is not a bad record. To what extent valuable program features have been sacrificed in the process can only be inferred from the rather disorganized condition described in the chapters on Program and on Leadership. These Associations have been able to secure contributions from nationals to an extent unrealized else-

where except in Europe and the Near East, but they have come largely from non-Christian sources. In India, 3 of the 6 largest Associations report indebtedness on current expenses and 4 out of the 6 Associations in the so-called Mofussil towns, for which information was available, are in the same condition. The contributions appear almost everywhere to be falling off to an alarming extent as the British community loses interest in supporting a work primarily for Indians, and Indian donors are not able to contribute on the same scale.

In dealing with the situation in Europe and the Near East the figures for national and local work have been combined. This is because actually functioning national organizations exist, as yet, in relatively few countries. The composite picture is presented in Table LIII.

TABLE LIII.—PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION, BY SOURCE, CURRENT INCOME OF THE MOVEMENTS IN EUROPE AND THE NEAR EAST.

	YMCA	YWCA
Foreign Division	25	28
Other Movements	4	..
Government Grants	4	5
Local Contributions	19	14
Fees and Dues.....	47	47
Miscellaneous	1	6
	<hr/> 100	<hr/> 100

In this area the North American appropriation is used primarily for the expenses of the American secretaries and for training national leadership. The campaign method has, on the whole, been distinctly successful and the constituency is drawn primarily from the nationals of the country. Most of the local Associations are carrying a slight deficit on current expenses, and, where property is owned, it is the exception rather than the rule to be free of building indebtedness. Government and municipal grants have been made at some time in every country, except those of South America, either for some item of program or for capital expenses in the form of desirable properties. Such grants were reported in practically every country for 1928 or 1929.

In South America the difficulty lies in interesting the several governments in a work of North American and Protestant origin, and there is likewise some hesitancy on the part of the Associations to seek such appropriations owing to the sudden changes to which the various governments are liable. State support for undertakings of a benevolent nature is, however, a principle taken for granted in these countries also.

It will be seen that while the several movements abroad are making progress in the direction of self-support, the process is a longer one than was at first anticipated. The question also arises whether sufficient pressure has been brought to bear on them to develop local constituencies when funds were still apparently abundant in North America. Neither the donors nor the secretaries of the North American movements took of their own accord to the method of financing by voluntary contributions; the system was developed by economic pressure in a country where other means of financing welfare work were not available. Under similar circumstances, similar results would probably follow in several countries, notably perhaps in China. Furthermore, in view of the financial situation in North America, the movements abroad are being forced to some such action. The next few years, which must inevitably mean reduction and hardship, will at the same time measure the relative vitality of the several movements and, by adjusting their expenditures more to the economic realities of their several environments, serve to give them a more truly autonomous and indigenous character.

CHAPTER VI

SKETCHES OF THE SEVERAL NATIONAL MOVEMENTS

THE material here presented is based on the reports of the survey commissions in the several countries and data gathered by the International Survey staff. All statements refer to the period of the field study, ending in 1930. It should be remembered that in some countries the YWCA was not included because in these countries the women's organizations in North America were not cooperating. The Foreign Division of the YWCA formerly cooperated in the work in Roumania, Poland, Czechoslovakia and Italy, as well as other countries not included in this survey, but has found it possible to withdraw from them, without injury to the work.

AFRICA AND THE NEAR EAST

Egypt

There are in Egypt, at the present time, four separate YMCAs functioning in very different environments. Just as one of the chief problems of the country itself is the unification of all factions on the basis of a common citizenship, so also the Associations face the difficult necessity of federating into a national movement that shall express a united policy. Progress in this direction is definitely being made and friendly relations among the several units are being consciously cultivated.

As in all countries of the Moslem world, particularly in the general region of the Near East, by far the greatest environmental difficulty confronting the YMCA is the religious one. The tradition of proselytizing has obtained not only among the Christian, Moslem and Jewish communities, but also among

certain of the Christian churches themselves. Thus there exists today a strong defense reaction among the Copts against evangelical groups other than the Anglican, as well as among the Moslems (the dominant element in the population) against Christians of all types and nationalities. The YMCA is, accordingly, as liable to encounter misunderstanding and opposition from certain Christian groups as from Moslems and Jews.

Assiut, in Upper Egypt, represents the area most sympathetic to Christianity. In connection with the Christian college, a project of mission enterprise, there exists a student Association which has been nurtured in the tradition of evangelization. The city Association in the same place is likewise strongly Christian in leadership and membership. At the other extreme is the young Association in Alexandria, opened in 1928, with a markedly international and interreligious constituency and relatively little interest in preserving the word "Christian" in its name. In Cairo are two strong Associations, the one known as the Anglo-American Branch and catering to a European (presumptively Christian) clientèle, and the other called the Central Branch and designed primarily for Egyptian (and consequently for the most part non-Christian) young men and boys. The Anglo-American Branch in Cairo is promoted from Great Britain, the others from North America. Thus it will be seen that the YMCA in Egypt is subject to a varied psychological environment, ranging from complete sympathy with its program on the part of an evangelical college in Upper Egypt to the comparative indifference of the international groups of a port city. The problems confronting the nascent movement are, first, to build its own constituent elements into a living fellowship, and secondly, to make a definitely Christian contribution to the life of young men of whatsoever race and faith, while maintaining friendly relations with Christian and non-Christian communities alike.

The program of the several Associations is designed for young men and boys of the literate class. By affording training in democratic procedures and providing constructive use of leisure time, they are making a real and important contribution to the life of the people, in which no other agency is competing.

The major emphasis so far has been on activities of a social and educational nature. The physical work has been, on the whole, rather weak, although the achievements of the Cairo Central Association represent in some measure an exception. Obviously, it has been necessary to proceed slowly and with great caution in the field of religious work. While Bible study is promoted in those Associations having strong Christian affiliations, it is the hope of the other branches that the time will come when the values and significance of all religions may be sympathetically presented and intelligently discussed on the Association platform.

Palestine

The YMCA movement in Palestine is, at the present time, on the threshold of a new epoch in its history. In Jerusalem is being erected a building unusually beautiful and of elaborate proportions, which will entail program activities on a much larger scale than any hitherto undertaken. This project originated in the mind of the man who was for a decade (1920-1930) the general secretary of the Jerusalem Association, and through his efforts the building was made possible by the gifts of friends in America, chiefly one individual who desired to erect "a memorial to his Lord." Since the death of the principal donor and the retirement of the general secretary, the International Committee of the YMCAs of the United States and Canada (the owner of the building and property) has taken active steps to bring the project to an assured and prompt completion.

This building is outstanding from many points of view. By virtue of its size and position, outside the old city wall near the Jaffa Gate, it will be conspicuous among the landmarks of the vicinity. It has been planned on a scale far in advance of anything the community itself could support and is provided with endowment funds to help in the cost of maintenance. Among the facilities to be offered are gymnasium, swimming-pool, cafeteria, residential accommodation for 100 people, club and class-rooms, a library, an oratory, and, eventually, a large auditorium (construction of which is deferred for the present).

On the property will be an athletic field and elaborate

flower and shrub gardens. The building will be richly decorated with symbolic inscriptions and architectural devices, culminating in a tower equipped with a carillon and observation room. Perhaps the most significant feature of the building, however, is its location—in the city of Jerusalem. This fact above all others must determine the nature of the program to be developed. The quality of the program will, in turn, furnish the criterion by which any justification for the elaborateness of the structure must be sought.

For any organization with religious ideals and affiliations the major environmental factor to be reckoned with in Jerusalem is that of religious discord. The little country of Palestine has been for centuries the "Holy Land" of three of the world's dominant living religions: Judaism, Christianity and Islam. The friction between Jews and Moslems has been increased, during the last ten years or so, by the political issue of Zionism. Both groups have inherited age-long hatred of Christianity. The Christians themselves are tragically divided, one group against another. Several of the ancient Eastern churches, along with Roman Catholicism, compete for the custodianship of the "holy places." While the Protestant forces do not engage in conflict of this sort, the fact that there are 17 different societies, with 38 mission stations in the field, to serve a population of a million and a quarter is sufficient to indicate the existing confusion of interests and overlapping of efforts.

If the Jerusalem building is to realize the potentialities of its strategic position, a widely diversified program is called for, aiming to serve groups of various types and interests, and dominated by the Christian ideal of brotherhood. It was the dream of the sponsors that an atmosphere might be generated in which it would be possible to sense the deepest meanings and values of the Holy Land. To this end it is hoped to make the building a center of information and inspiration for the many students and visitors who flock to Palestine from all parts of the world. But the life and spirit of the place will of course be primarily dependent on the regular YMCA program offered to the boys and young men of Jerusalem.

Syria

The YWCA movement in Syria, while on a small scale and of comparatively recent origin, is making a careful and successful approach to the difficult problems confronting women in the Near East. Several small student Associations were reported in 1911, but the present work as promoted from the United States was not organized until 1920. At that time a "service center" was established in Beirut and directed, along with similar centers in Turkey, by a Near East committee. This body was dissolved in 1928 and the work in Syria has since gone ahead independently, looking toward national organization as soon as feasible.

The ideals by which the program is shaped at the Beirut center and its branches are those of the Association movement at its best. There is, in the first place, a definite attempt to bring the various elements of the very mixed population together in fellowship. While the majority of the board members are Syrians, four nationalities are represented on the employed staff and twelve in the regular membership. Among the latter, moreover, in 1929-1930 were 14 Jewish and 15 Moslem girls, the rest being Christians of the Protestant, Eastern and Roman Catholic churches. A second, or perhaps concomitant, purpose of the service center is to develop and release the richest possible personality among women and girls. This is a particularly urgent and delicate task in a population just beginning to throw off the restraints of centuries. There is real need for assistance in attaining economic independence, for enlarging the possibilities of life by means of constructive recreation, widened intellectual interests, and health education, and for promoting spiritual growth through social vision. Such needs the service center is intelligently facing with its program of clubs and classes, offered to girls in business and industry no less than to young women of leisure, all groups totaling nearly 1,000 individuals. Of particular significance in furthering the aims of the movement is the recently opened summer camp, beautifully situated high up in the Lebanon hills.

Turkey

The YMCA has two centers in Istanbul, one in Pera, the international section of the city, and one in Stamboul, an almost entirely Turkish section. Association work was initiated in Turkey a year or two before the outbreak of the World War, and a permit secured at that time has enabled the YMCA to continue as such under the new régime, subject, of course, to the law with respect to religious propaganda, which is binding on all institutions alike, Christian, Jewish and Moslem. The recently established Stamboul Branch, however, has a permit limiting its work to educational activities but, as this term is broadly construed, there is little actual limitation.

The most significant feature of the work in Istanbul is the degree to which the Association idea has taken hold of the local staff, which is not only international but interreligious in composition. Here, one feels, is a fellowship in which men are associated to help young men and boys build their lives in accordance with high ideals of conduct. This has made possible the operation of the YMCA as a truly international and interreligious center, where leaders and members of several nationalities and religions are welded together by interest in what the Association does and by the spirit permeating the whole work. At present, however, the governing board is limited in membership to Christians, which opens up the whole question of the future of the YMCA in Turkey.

The Association is now doing an undoubtedly useful piece of work for a considerable number of men and boys in one city. It can go on as it is without interference from the Turkish government, and perhaps even with somewhat increasing prestige. But the leaders recognize that it cannot become an indigenous movement for which self-respecting Moslems can undertake responsibility because the word "Christian" keeps them from full participation. Even now there is a serious ethical question as to the membership of boys whose parents disapprove of their frequenting the YMCA. The boys come, but they often conceal the fact of their membership. The question is—Shall the YMCA

retain its present status, or shall it change its form of organization and become a Turkish institution to which the government can give at least its moral support, in which Turkish Moslems will carry a major responsibility, and which Turkish youth can join without stigma. The survey furnished the occasion for the consideration of this question by a group of Turkish Moslems who appreciate what the YMCA has to offer and who would like to see its area of usefulness extended, but who could never accept its present basis. The plan recommended by the Turkish survey commission is briefly this: That the YMCA should continue, under its own name and a Christian board, as a holding company for a new Turkish organization, the latter to be directed by an international and interreligious committee and manned by a staff of similar character under American secretarial leadership, thus safeguarding the interests of non-Turkish members, and keeping character training as its major purpose; such an experiment to be carried on for a stated period of years and reviewed annually within that period, during which time the North American movement would continue to furnish financial and secretarial assistance. At the end of the period the plan would be re-examined, and continued, modified or dropped as might appear advisable. Whether such a plan would be accepted by the North American constituency remains to be seen. It has obvious weak points, and the question, "What is it to be Christian in Turkey today?" has more than one possible answer. The limitations now imposed upon the YMCA are not temporary and they preclude the possibility of growth, which in turn tends to devitalize an institution. The Association can go on as it is, doing a valuable piece of work in a limited area but apart from Turkish national life. Or it can chart out a new course and at least attempt to make its experience and services available to the youth of the country in ways that Turkish leaders can accept and in which they can participate wholeheartedly.

The YWCA faces a somewhat similar problem, but circumstances have already forced it into a position not unlike the one now contemplated by the YMCA. Having no pre-war permit and being unable to secure a permit as a YWCA, the Association

has taken the form of service centers, conducted as a project of the YWCA in the United States under a Turkish permit that limits the work to educational activities. There are two such centers in Istanbul, one in Pera with an international membership, and a Turkish center in Stamboul. There is nothing in the name of the institution or in its legal status—that of a school—to prevent Turkish participation. The staff is international and inter-religious, and the board of directors, while largely American, includes a Greek and an Armenian, and recently a Turkish staff representative was elected to full membership in the board. But the service centers have not yet gone very far in enlisting Turkish women for volunteer service. This is, of course, a difficult task because the number of educated Turkish women who interest themselves in social matters is limited and those who do are already overburdened with responsibilities. However, American leaders are increasingly conscious of the necessity of winning the confidence and interest of Turkish women if there is to be any real future for the work in Turkey, and distinct progress is being made in that direction.

The most encouraging aspect of the work is the spirit of some of the local staff members and their grasp of the inherent spiritual values in what the service centers are trying to do. This is true of Moslem and Christian alike. Furthermore, the program is remarkably comprehensive, considering its technical limitations. The permit allows "formal" and "informal" educational work, *i.e.*, classes and clubs, physical education, a summer camp, and considerable social life. There is, to be sure, constant uncertainty as to the strict legal interpretation of "educational work," but the Turkish authorities are now convinced that the service centers are conscientiously trying to conform to Turkish regulations, and relationships with government officials are increasingly friendly.

There is division of opinion among American leaders as to the extent to which control should be turned over to nationals, and the outcome of the present experiment cannot be predicted. But much of value has already been accomplished and it is hoped that progress may continue and eventually result in greatly

increased influence for the service centers as genuinely indigenous institutions.

Union of South Africa

The Student Christian Association of South Africa is functioning in one of the most difficult racial situations the world today presents. The historic conflict between the Dutch and British elements of the white population has been second only to the oppression and exploitation practiced toward the natives as the white settlers and their descendents have demanded labor and have sought land. While certain tendencies making for reconciliation have been, more or less steadily, gaining ground since the early part of the twentieth century, progress has been retarded in more recent years by the nationalistic spirit prevailing since the World War. Missionaries and laymen of liberal mind for a hundred years have sought better racial adjustment. The heritage of mutual fear, suspicion and hatred is of such a nature, however, that a long period of patient and constructive effort will be required before the situation may be considered wholesome or, indeed, safe. The populations have steadily increased, until they now number about five and a half million natives, about one and three-quarter million whites and over half a million mixed bloods and Asiatics. The bulk of the manual labor is performed by natives.

The Christian movement among students received its first impetus from the visits of Luther Wishard and Donald Fraser in 1896. While there has always been a desire to unite the students of the entire population in one organization, the movement has apparently always been dominated by the Dutch element. Since Dr. Mott's visit in 1906, however, and more especially since the war years, active steps have been taken to stimulate work among Bantu students. There were indeed, through the efforts of Oswin B. Bull, eleven such Associations in existence in native schools and colleges when the North American YMCAs decided to cooperate, in 1922, and sent Max Yergan out to strengthen and coordinate the work. At the time of the International Survey 31 native student Associations were reported and, in addition,

one city Association (at Bloemfontein), which developed almost spontaneously.

The policy of the Student Christian Association, looking toward reconciliation of white and native students, runs counter to the tendency among other character-building agencies in South Africa. Among the Scouts, for instance, separate organizations are maintained for white and for native children of each sex, as well as for those of mixed blood. Furthermore, the rather half-hearted attempts of the national city YWCA movement to carry on work for native women have met with very little success. The city YMCAs are feeble and inactive. If, therefore, a movement is to develop for the native population in urban or rural communities which will embody the Christian principles of brotherhood and reconciliation, the inspiration and most of the leadership may most naturally be looked for in the student organization.

The Bantu students enrolled as members are, for the most part, in training for positions as Christian teachers and expect to give their lives to the uplift of the native population. They are mostly between the ages of sixteen and twenty, and are of about high school or junior college grade. The program by which the movement has sought to further its purposes has consisted of Bible study, religious meetings, community service in the *kraals* (native huts) and villages, and in periodic regional or national conferences. The latter reached a climax in June, 1930, when the first national conference of Bantu and white students was held at the South African Native College, Fort Hare, Cape Province, the headquarters of the movement. At the same time and in the same place the first building was dedicated as a center for leadership training and student activities.

The past eight years have seen a strengthening of the existing Bantu Associations and a laying of foundations for wider growth. It has been slow work, accomplished with inexhaustible and devoted patience in the face of differences of culture and native languages and against great odds of inertia and prejudice. But the indication is that the superstructure can now be undertaken. Significant friendly relations have been developed between

white and native students over a wide section of the country, and a tradition for such relations has been established in many educational institutions. An effort is called for in order to capitalize this spirit and furnish it an outlet in Christian service in both urban and rural areas. It is probable that all the missionary forces at work in the country would welcome whatever guidance and cooperation can be given them in developing constructive programs. The need for social service and for the difficult achievement of creating interracial good will, especially in the rapidly increasing urban centers with their congested living quarters, is tremendous. Should the Bantu section of the movement, however, find it possible to enter this enormously significant field in the near future, it should do so only at a pace that will ensure healthy growth, training native leaders and relying on them. The best approach will doubtless be an educational one, in the sense in which adult education and leisure time activity are understood in North America. Finally, it is emphasized that the work of the Bantu Associations, if it is to make the greatest possible contribution to the spiritual life of South Africa, must jealously guard the great ideal of the student movement—of making all elements of the population mutually known and understood.

EUROPE

Bulgaria

The YMCA in Bulgaria presents an interesting contrast to the other Association movements in Europe having North American cooperation in that it is indigenous in the strict sense of the word, whereas the other ten movements in question represent foreign initiative and the transplanting of ideas from abroad. Before the foreign secretaries came, there was an Association in Sofia under lay control and Bulgarian leadership. In 1922 an American secretary was assigned to Sofia as adviser to the Bulgarian staff, but not to found a new movement or to change fundamentally the character of the existing work.

The Association in Bulgaria was started by the Protestant churches. A federation of young people's societies grew up under

church auspices with the name "Young Men's Christian Association," uniting Christian Endeavor and other specifically evangelical groups. Eventually a movement toward lay control resulted in the organization of the Sofia Association apart from the church and in the break-up of the so-called YMCA Federation. The present movement in Bulgaria consists of the Sofia YMCA and Association groups in two of the American schools. The YMCA is apparently well known throughout the country, however, and the chief hindrance to the extension of the movement to other centers is lack of money and personnel.

The Sofia Association occupies a small building, furnished with only the barest necessities, on one of the main streets. The location is excellent and the building and land are the property of the YMCA (held for it by a committee in Geneva), but they are inadequate for present needs and allow nothing in the way of expansion. A dilapidated barrack adjoining the main building is used for boys work and a tiny yard serves as a volley-ball court. There is no gymnasium nor athletic field. The YMCA is allowed to use a corner of the Younaks' sport field (the Younaks correspond to the Czech Sokols), without, however, having the exclusive right even to this small space.

The total membership of the Sofia YMCA is approximately 450, with by far the largest enrollment, about 350, in the boys department. Most of the members of the boys department are school boys. There is crying need for activities and services for employed boys and the underprivileged, but again, space and funds are lacking. Young men and university students have not, so far, been drawn into the Association in large numbers. The lack of a gymnasium and other institutional attractions and the policy of concentrating on boys work account, in large measure, for the small membership among adults.

The boys department carries on a varied program through boys clubs. The boys camp on the Black Sea has won high praise in many circles for its excellent administration, its health record, and its character-training program, and it attracts boys from other parts of Bulgaria besides Sofia, who have done much to enhance the reputation of the YMCA. From the point of view of

income production the educational classes are the most important program feature, and most of the available space in the main building is devoted to class work. This, of course, sharply limits the possibility of developing other Association activities. Religious work is carried on largely through discussion groups, in the boys department and among adult members, and there appears to be an unusual amount of interest in this phase of the Association's work. Physical education is greatly handicapped by lack of facilities. It is hoped, however, that after the return of the physical director from the Geneva School physical work will receive a new impetus, and there is a possibility that the city may provide the YMCA with a piece of land for an athletic field.

Despite its small membership and poor equipment, the YMCA in Sofia in its movement aspect is one of the strongest in Europe, and is keenly conscious of itself as part of a world brotherhood. Free from the pressure of administering a large institution, its leaders have been able to devote themselves to the development of the "Association idea," which has taken firm hold. The strength of the Sofia YMCA lies in its leadership, lay and professional, and in the spirit of its members, who apparently have an unusual warmth of feeling for the Association and a sense of its being their own. The personal qualities of the staff, their competence, intelligence and devotion, their faith in the future of the YMCA in Bulgaria, and their willingness to forego other vocational opportunities, are the surest guarantee of vitality and capacity for growth. The lay leadership also includes men thoroughly committed to the Association and willing to give time and effort in its service.

Another element of strength in the Sofia YMCA is the support it gets from outstanding Orthodox leaders. The Church in Bulgaria is divided in its opinion regarding the Association. One element is actively hostile and persuaded the Synod some years ago to issue a decree against clerical cooperation with the YMCA. But a still more important element, including the Metropolitan of Sofia and the head of the Theological Seminary, are its influential and cordial supporters, and it is their conviction that the

Association will eventually win those who are now hostile. There is no evidence whatever of any desire on the part of the Orthodox friends of the YMCA to have it narrowly confessional. While they maintain that the religious work of the Association must be in harmony with Orthodox teaching so far as its Orthodox members are concerned, they are quite ready to leave religious education in lay hands and to have the Association conducted on interconfessional lines. In spite of the hostility of a part of the Orthodox Church in Bulgaria, the relation of the YMCA to Bulgarian Orthodoxy is essentially sound and satisfactory.

The chief problem of the Association in Bulgaria is financial. It has not yet built up a strong economic base. The country is desperately poor. The North American movement has helped by providing an adviser and contributing the major part of the cost of the present property in Sofia, part of the camp site, and an annual training subsidy of \$1,200. There is no tendency on the part of Bulgarians to shift financial responsibility to American shoulders, and considering the economic condition of the country they have done well in their support of the Association. But it is a hard struggle to maintain the present organization, small as it is, and there is no margin for expansion. The Association is doing a thorough and constructive piece of work in a limited area. It has the potential leadership for expansion and many doors are open to it.

Czechoslovakia

The YMCA in Czechoslovakia may perhaps be considered the North American demonstration center in Europe by reason of its extent, the variety of its work, and the existence of a number of Association buildings, which make it possible to demonstrate an all-round Association program. Czechoslovakia is the only country in Europe where the civilian work, undertaken after activities with the Czechoslovak troops had come to an end, was started over a wide area and has been maintained in virtually all the centers originally opened. The YMCA in Czechoslovakia is one movement with two distinct parts: the lay branches organized by American secretaries after the Armistice,

twelve in number, and the church Associations, a considerable number of which have carried over from pre-war days. The church groups belong for the most part to the Czech Brethren Church, although a few represent other Protestant denominations. The total membership of these groups is now over 13,000, representing more than 300 Associations as against about 40 in 1920. A Czech-American secretary heads up this section of the work.

The lay branches with which the survey was chiefly concerned are located in communities of widely differing types, from Prague, the beautiful old Bohemian capital, a center of both Czech and German culture, to Lučenec, a small primitive town near the Hungarian frontier. Because of the large minority populations, German, Hungarian, Ruthenian, and other nationalities, the North American leaders deliberately selected some of the "sore spots" in which to plant local Associations, hoping that they would serve as a means of conciliation between the various national groups. This international policy has been generally, and in most instances cordially, accepted by the Czech leaders of the movement and constitutes one of the most significant characteristics of the work in Czechoslovakia. Boys and men of different nationalities and of different faiths who would otherwise have nothing to do with each other are brought together in the YMCA buildings, in camp, on boards and committees and on the local staffs, and are learning to live and work and play together. Undoubtedly it would have been easier to build up local support in the larger cities with a Czech population than in mixed communities, some of which are small and hardly capable of supporting extensive institutional features. But from the point of view of the larger statesmanship, the wisdom of such a policy can hardly be questioned. The YMCA makes no distinction between members of different Christian faiths and has a large number of Catholic members and also several Catholic secretaries, as well as a number without church affiliation. There has been some hostility from Catholic sources, but Roman Catholicism, associated for generations with the Hapsburg dynasty, no longer holds its former place in the country and is hardly in a position to put up a strong fight against the Associa-

tion, which, on the other hand, has won some influential Catholic supporters. Up to the present time no work has been organized in Ruthenia, where the Eastern Orthodox Church is strongest.

A factor that has conditioned the development of the YMCA in Czechoslovakia to a great extent is the building program. Because of an acute housing shortage, a law was passed in 1923 under which certain organizations could secure from the government from 30 to 70 per cent of the cost of new buildings containing living quarters and put up within a specified period. On the basis of this law six Association buildings were erected. Unfortunately, the amount of the government subsidy was not as large as had been expected, with the result that the YMCA is burdened with a heavy debt. Aside from the matter of debt, the buildings themselves have been both an asset and a liability. They have made possible the demonstration of a well-rounded Association program in a number of centers; they have helped to make the Association known and have added to its prestige; they have had a stabilizing effect and have been an economic resource for the national movement; it is a question whether the YMCA would have won the strong position it undoubtedly holds today without these outward and visible signs of a firmly-planted, permanent institution. On the other hand, the fact that the YMCA has large buildings with income-producing features has made it difficult for the communities to understand its purpose and to realize that it needs their support. Again, the necessity of operating large plants has stressed the institutional aspect of the work, in some instances at the expense of the movement aspect. It has complicated the personnel problem and has lost to the Association a number of secretaries who had much to contribute but whose gifts were not administrative. Furthermore, there is a remarkable vitality and community character in certain of the local branches which have not had buildings, a fact which inevitably makes one question the validity of erecting buildings before the Association idea itself has become firmly rooted.

However, Association leaders are keenly aware of the underlying purpose of the YMCA and are constantly seeking to deepen

the spiritual side of the work and to give membership real content and meaning. It should also be said that the Association in Czechoslovakia has a distinctly liberal social outlook and is even considered in some quarters a radical organization. One of its major purposes is to help in the building of a Christian social order.

The program varies in the different branches, its emphasis depending upon available equipment, local needs, etc. Physical work, in which the YMCA is a recognized leader, and boys work are the most generally developed. In certain centers institutional features, such as dormitories and restaurants, have become social services of considerable importance to the community. In one or two centers, notably Lučenec, highly significant work is being carried on for apprentices, although in general the Association membership is not drawn to any great extent from the industrial or underprivileged classes. One of the most interesting pieces of work is the student home in Prague (the Studentsky Domov), which is a center for students of many lands. Taking the country as a whole, the work in Czechoslovakia illustrates nearly every kind of YMCA program activity, as well as special features resulting from special local conditions. One gets the impression that the program has not yet acquired a distinctively local flavor and that it still follows North American patterns closely. This may be due to continued foreign supervision within the country and to the American training of some of the secretaries. At all events, the process of adaptation is going on.

Foreign assistance is still considered essential, especially in matters of finance, administration and training. Furthermore, until the minority problem becomes less acute, the North American element is a useful solvent. All of the local branches except Prague are now directed by nationals, but, so far, no national general secretary has been appointed, and the field supervisory positions are held by Americans. The building up of local support has been unusually difficult in Czechoslovakia, where social, educational and religious organizations are accustomed to looking to the government for support and where the habit of private giving has not been formed. At the same time,

the movement has sunk its roots deep into the soil of the country and has become a part of the national life.

Esthonia

The YMCA in Esthonia grew out of the North American work with Russian troops and with prisoners of war returning from Russia after the Armistice. There is a pre-war German movement, which is still affiliated with the Christlicher Verein Junger Männer of Germany, and, although it is hoped by the World's Committee that eventually the two movements may unite, so far no progress has been made in that direction and there is practically no contact between them. Services for the civilian population, relief and educational work on a large scale, were begun shortly after the arrival of the first North American secretaries, and attempts were made to establish YMCAs in a number of centers in different parts of the country. The only two branches to last were the Associations in Tallinn, the capital of the new state, and in Tartu, an old university town. Recently Associations have been organized in two or three of the towns in southern Esthonia. A national committee has been set up within the last few years and the American representative serves as national secretary, having served also as executive of the Tallinn YMCA until 1930.

The Tallinn Association is a "going concern," carrying on in traditional ways the typical activities of the YMCA in the United States. It is one of the leading organizations of the little capital, and has been remarkably successful in winning financial support in the community. One often hears it said that the YMCA in the Baltic States is a "bulwark against Bolshevism." The basis for this claim is not clear, except of course as the Association offers a wholesome outlet for the energies of young men and boys, but it is probably a factor in the readiness with which the business men of the city contribute to the Association every year.

The YMCA occupies a rented building, centrally located, where the administrative work and social and educational activities are carried on. A rented hall serves as gymnasium, but the boys department occupies a small house owned by the Asso-

ciation. In addition, the Tallinn YMCA directs recreational and educational work in two large industrial plants for the employees and their families, which is financed by the plant owners.

The Association has a membership of approximately 1,000, of whom about 600 are enrolled in the boys department. The members are largely school boys and employees of business establishments, with a considerable number of professional men and government employees, and some industrial workers. There is a special section for Russian boys, but very few Germans frequent the YMCA, partly because they have their own organizations and partly because there is still a great deal of bitterness between the Germans and the Esthonians. While politically Esthonia was formerly a part of Russia, the German Balts were for centuries the social and economic rulers, and the reversal of rôles has left a wound that only time and wise statesmanship can heal.

The Tartu YMCA was originally intended primarily for students. It is near the university, occupying property purchased by the Association, a piece of land with a house and one or two smaller buildings. The student work has not been very successful, either in reaching the students directly or in cooperating with the Christian Student Federation, which has apparently never been particularly active. Recently, however, there has been a change of personnel in the Tartu YMCA and the outlook for a closer tie-up with the university is more promising. Boys work has thus far received the major share of attention.

The YMCA in Esthonia is in the unusual position of having an excess of trained secretaries. Compared with the difficulty of recruiting and retaining men in other countries, Esthonia's situation is unique, with a far larger staff in Tallinn in proportion to the extent of the work than anywhere else in Europe. From one point of view this is excellent, since it makes trained personnel available for new centers whenever they can be opened. From another point of view the soundness of such a policy may be questioned. There is no lack of opportunity for constructive work but whether the meager resources of the country can maintain so large a spread of sail when foreign cooperation

is withdrawn remains to be seen, particularly since the success of the annual financial campaigns in Tallinn and elsewhere have been largely due to the genius of the American secretary in this respect.

The Esthonia YMCA has enlisted many of the leading business and professional men to serve on its boards and committees. The Baltic Summer School, conducted jointly by the Esthonian and Latvian Associations and held annually at Tartu, is an important medium of leadership training for laymen as well as for the secretarial staffs.

With respect to the issues of internationalism and interconfessionalism, it may be said that the Association is making a sincere effort to create an atmosphere in which young men of all nationalities and confessions will feel at home. It has succeeded in establishing excellent relationships with some of the Russian Orthodox clergy. The YMCA has been fairly successful in winning the approval of Lutheran church leaders, some of whom have given their active support to its work. It is probably fair to say that the YMCA is regarded in Lutheran church circles as a highly useful social and recreational institution but not as a "Christian" association in any specific sense. There is still confusion as to the meaning of a lay organization that calls itself "Christian" but is not connected with any particular confession. This is a point of some significance, because Esthonia and Latvia are the only two Protestant countries in Europe in which the North American YMCA has initiated a program. Even in a Protestant environment, the meaning of the name, YMCA, has not become entirely clear.

One would be more confident of the future of the work if it had grown more slowly and were intensive rather than extensive, with the movement aspect more of a factor than it now appears to be. The Association *does* a great many things and does them well. What it essentially *is*, is not so clear.

The YWCA in Esthonia is the child of the YMCA, which, curiously enough, began its work in Tallinn with a group of young women, since most of the men were still in the army. The Tallinn and Tartu YWCAs were organized at about the same

time, and until 1929 the work was confined to these two centers. In that year a branch was opened in Pärnu on the west coast, and recently another branch has been established in the north.

The thing that impresses the observer about the YWCA in Esthonia is the integration of the whole work, the quality of the women who represent it, and the consistency and intelligence with which they are carrying it on. It is first of all a movement, associating women and girls in a fellowship in which there is a strong religious element that is the basis of all that is done. The members of this fellowship are seeking not only to enrich their own lives but to help other women and girls and to contribute to the life of the whole community. The YWCA in Esthonia has taken account of the changed position of women, which, in the modern democracy of Esthonia, is quite different from the position of women under the old Russian Empire. Women have now the same legal status as men, with all that is involved in the way of new opportunities and responsibilities. The YWCA is definitely a woman's movement in that it offers training in the acceptance of responsibility, opportunities for self-expression as a means to acquiring self-confidence, and education in matters of public concern. It also lays great stress on the development of better feeling between the different national and religious groups, considering this one of the most important contributions it can make to a wholesome national life. This international and interconfessional policy is expressed in the constitution of the governing boards, of committees and of the Tallinn staff—all of which include representatives of the German and Russian minority groups—in the membership and program, and in the efforts made to establish cordial and fruitful relationships with minority organizations. An illustration of this policy is the care with which the recently formed national committee has been working out a national constitution to provide for eventual federation between the Esthonian YWCA and the pre-war German Association, which there is good reason to suppose will some time take place.

The Tallinn YWCA occupies a floor in a building on one of the main streets. It has now outgrown its quarters to such an

extent that only the greatest ingenuity can fit the present activities into the available space, and expansion is sharply limited. The rent is high and there are no income-producing features except a cafeteria, which is a useful service but brings little income. A suitable building with dormitory space is greatly needed, but for this outside help is necessary. The YWCA, like the YMCA, receives generous public support commensurate with the resources of the people, but it is a struggle to keep the work going even with financial assistance from abroad. The Tartu and Pärnu Associations are also in rented quarters, which, however, are adequate for the work in its present stage. Tartu still receives an annual subsidy from North America, but Pärnu was organized on the basis of complete self-support from the start and has had only a small sum for equipment.

In all three branches Girl Reserve work is well developed and recently the Girl Guides at their own request have come under the auspices of the YWCA. The work with younger girls is a definite preparation for adult membership. Religious education has an important place in these groups, in the summer camp period and in conferences, and practice is given in various kinds of social work. Physical education holds a minor place in the program, due to lack of a proper gymnasium or sport field, and the educational program has varied with changing needs. One of the most socially valuable pieces of work is the nursery school conducted by the Association in Tallinn, which serves also as the only kindergarten teacher training institution in the country. Excellent and much needed educational work has been done in the field of home economics both in the groups and through public demonstration. In general, the program gives evidence of intelligent adaptation to local needs and of a high degree of insight, imagination and originality on the part of those responsible.

The leadership of the Esthonian YWCA is such as one would wish to find everywhere. In their grasp of the principles of the Association, their seriousness of purpose, their sense of responsibility and capacity for carrying on, these women constitute a group in whose hands the movement may confidently be expected to represent the YWCA at its best. They have long since proved

their ability to carry the work themselves and the American secretary has been strictly an adviser for some years. Under their leadership the Association has had a remarkably wholesome, steady growth, and although a measure of foreign assistance is still necessary to help them hold the ground gained in view of the limited resources of their own country, the YWCA in Esthonia has definitely "come of age."

Greece

The YMCA in Greece consists of the Associations in Athens and Saloniki and a recently opened center on the island of Syra. There is a provisional national committee and the North American senior secretary acts as national secretary for Greece. A national committee is in process of formation.

The Greek Associations are of particular interest in that North American leaders, in order to build a national movement, have followed the lead of nationals more than in any other country in Europe. Centuries of servitude under the old Turkish Empire and a consciousness of ancient glory have made Greek nationalism acutely sensitive, and while the YMCA has had a warm welcome, it is welcome only as it adapts itself to Greek ways. The most significant adaptation is embodied in the agreement made with representatives of the Greek Orthodox Church that the YMCA will appoint for religious work only such men as are acceptable to the Church, and will at all times ensure that all religious work shall be carried on in conformity to Orthodox teaching and tradition. An evidence of the standing of the YMCA in Orthodox circles is the visit of the Metropolitan of Saloniki to the United States to help raise funds for the Saloniki building. The Associations have very friendly relations also with the government, which grants them each an annual subsidy.

For years the YMCAs of Athens and Saloniki, particularly the former, have struggled along with inadequate equipment, carrying as broad a program as is possible under the circumstances. The new building at Saloniki, with its fine athletic field, will make possible a great advance in program development. The Saloniki Association already has many social and athletic

activities and a large membership, over 2,000, for the size of the city. The Athens Association, handicapped by extremely poor quarters, is nevertheless carrying an extensive educational program and well developed boys work, and has opened a small center in one of the refugee settlements outside the city.

The Greek Associations are confronted with two major difficulties—finance and personnel. The repatriation of Greek refugees and the general economic depression have brought Greece face to face with social and economic problems of the first magnitude. Building an economic base under present conditions, and in face of the difficulties always attending the winning of public support for a new venture by unfamiliar means, is an almost impossible task for the YMCA and the financial outlook, particularly in Saloniki, is very serious. This accounts in part, at least, for the difficulty in recruiting and retaining qualified Greek secretaries and for a feeling of insecurity among those who are now giving loyal and efficient service. On the other hand, the lay leadership of both local Associations appears to be unusually strong.

What the final character of the Association will be is still uncertain. The process of adaptation is not yet complete. Questions of interconfessionalism and internationalism have not yet been seriously considered. It is still difficult to detect a "movement" quality or any real consciousness of fellowship in a world brotherhood. In the reconstruction of her national life Greece appears to be unaware of many of the currents of thought affecting European nations to the north and west. The commonly used expression "going to Europe" is indicative of an attitude of detachment from the rest of the continent which has affected the character of the YMCA. At all events, the Association's manifold services to youth are highly valued by the Greeks who have come into contact with them and an increasingly significant place may be expected for the Association with some degree of confidence.

The YWCA in Greece was included in the survey by the express desire of its Greek leaders, since American cooperation with the Association in Greece is indirect. An American secretary served as adviser to the YWCA in Athens at the time of the

survey. The YWCA in Saloniki has had no connection at all with the American movement.

As in the case of the YMCA, there is no national organization, both centers being entirely independent of each other. Both are carrying on more or less typical activities and greatly needed services to Greek girls on a scale limited by lack of financial resources and professional leadership. In some ways the Association idea appears to have taken firm hold; in other ways the idea is difficult for Greek women to grasp, particularly the concept of a democratic organization where members and leaders are joined together in a common cause and where all share a measure of responsibility. Both the local Associations are still in the stage of being carried by the enthusiasm and personal effort of one or two leaders. Even more strongly than in the YMCA, the Greek leaders in the YWCA seem to feel the necessity of making the Association Greek through and through, and have come to believe that the wisest policy is to build the work gradually by their own efforts, without foreign assistance. Again, it is impossible to predict the character that the YWCA in Greece will eventually develop, or to what extent the essentials of the movement will prove to have taken root. But it is abundantly evident that what the Associations are now doing for Greek girls has great actual value, and an even greater potential value.

Italy

One of the most important factors in American YMCA work in Italy is its relation to the older YMCA movement. The YMCA has existed in Italy for over sixty years. At first a Waldensian Church movement, it gradually developed a tendency toward lay control and small interdenominational Protestant groups grew up outside the churches. The idea of interconfessionalism was introduced from North America following the war, when model YMCAs were organized in Turin and in Rome and their basis established as "a-political and a-confessional." In adopting the latter principle the foreign secretaries took a step which caused consternation to the Italian Protestant leaders who had regarded the YMCA as a bulwark against Catholicism. This situation

might have resulted in an irreparable breach and consequent loss to both the old and the new work, but the leaders of the American Associations, appreciating the vitality of the older Italian movement, have done their utmost to win the confidence of its leaders and to convince them that the YMCA can be interconfessional and still retain a definitely religious content. Until recently, the newer work developed outside the framework of the Italian national Association, although at the same time every effort was made to build up a sound relationship, to assist the small groups of the older movement with counsel and also with funds, and to interpret the broader basis of the newer work so that the Italians might realize that this work was not destructive of their own principles but, on the contrary, could supplement and enrich the movement as a whole.

At the present time the YMCA in Italy is a federation of over 60 branches of which about 40 are church groups, 20 are small lay Associations, and three are the city YMCAs of Rome, Turin and Florence. The Foreign Committee is specifically responsible only for Turin and Rome, but it has a "protective" relationship to the Florence Association also, and contributes over \$5,000 annually to the national work, of which Florence gets a considerable share.

A second important factor in the North American work is its truly interconfessional spirit. It recognizes the contribution that each great branch of the Christian faith has to make, and is drawing as far as possible on Catholic sources of inspiration in its religious work, thereby strengthening the attachment of its many Catholic members to their own church and also interpreting the spiritual resources of Catholicism to its Protestant members.

The present situation makes it necessary to keep the work as a branch of the North American movement and prevents the development of a responsible directorate. Attempts to build responsible committees have proved futile and, in order to safeguard the work, full and final responsibility has been vested in the American representative. This is an abnormal situation but one for which there is no visible remedy at the present time.

A third noteworthy feature of the Italian work is the fine cali-

ber of its personnel. The foreign staff has been reduced to one man, who has now served in Italy for eight years and has succeeded in gathering around him a staff of secretaries on a high level of education, intelligence and personality. They are the backbone of the Italian work and it is a remarkable thing that men of their quality could have been enlisted and retained in the face of the difficulties involved: uncertainty as to the future; hostility or suspicion on the part of the two great powers whose pressure is unescapable; an unfamiliar profession which requires much of a man and gives little in the way of financial or social rewards. A number of the Protestant secretaries have come to the North American work out of the ranks of the older movement. Several Catholic secretaries have been recruited from the membership of the Rome and Turin Associations. The latter have done much to convince the leaders of the older movement of the contribution that can be made by Catholics, and the presence of the Protestant secretaries reassures them as to the basic soundness of the newer work, for these secretaries are their own men.

In Turin the membership has doubled in the past five years and now numbers over 1,000. In Rome it has remained more or less stationary at about 450. This may be accounted for, at least in part, by the more floating population of Rome, by the fact that it is the center of the forces hostile to the YMCA, and by the lack of a swimming pool, which is an attractive feature of the Turin Association. In both Turin and Rome, the large majority of members are young Catholics who have slipped their moorings in the traditional church and have found no others.

It is frankly admitted that the great drawing-card of the two Associations is their physical work, but this is not to say that physical exercise is all the members find there. There is considerable evidence that they find also a breadth and tranquillity of atmosphere, a spirit of friendliness, and an opportunity for self-expression that draws them into the real life of the Association and makes them feel that they have a stake in it.

Physical education is the most highly developed feature of the program in Turin and in Rome, as already indicated. The gymnasias of the two Associations are the best in their respec-

tive cities and their physical education secretaries are among the few trained leaders in the country. Fascism is making a tremendous effort toward the development of physical education for everyone, and the head of its most important physical education training school is a former YMCA physical director.

A striking quality in the program in general is its elasticity and adaptiveness to Italian ways. The social features are especially well developed and are linked closely with educational and religious elements in such a way as to give an unusual sense of integration throughout the whole program. Boys work is small in extent but intensive and is in the hands of exceptionally able secretaries.

The Rome and Turin Associations each have a large, well located building owned by the International Committee. Both are private villas which have been converted to Association purposes. The Turin Association is especially well equipped, with many large, attractive rooms, a fine gymnasium and a swimming pool. The Rome YMCA feels the need of a swimming pool as a means of income production and both Associations hope to add more dormitory space. Because of the impossibility of raising adequate funds from private donations, the leaders of the Italian work are convinced that self-support can be attained only through membership fees and the development of income-producing features. At the present time the Rome and Turin Associations each have a budget of something under \$25,000, of which, taken together, approximately one-third is covered by North American subsidy. The Turin YMCA is making steady gains in the direction of self-support. The Rome YMCA is losing ground in this respect. Both Associations will need financial support from abroad for many years if the work is to be maintained on its present scale and given a chance to develop.

The North American work is gradually gaining a foothold on Italian soil. Little by little it is forging links with community life, winning friends among thoughtful Italians, and making its influence felt in slowly widening circles. Its greatest elements of strength lie in the caliber of its leadership, in the interweaving of Protestant and Catholic elements and in its identification with

the older national movement which is in itself gaining strength and vitality.

Besides the outstanding work which the Rome and Turin Associations have done in the field of physical education, they offer a congenial social center and a "spiritual home" to many young Italians who have responded warmly to the quality of life that they have found there. In spite of the fact that the Italian work must be considered organizationally as still a branch of the North American movement, it has become well adapted in many respects to its Italian *milieu* so that one does not feel that there has been an attempt to plant an American institution in an Italian environment. If the problem of self-support and self-direction can eventually be solved, there is little doubt of a bright future. In any event, the North American work has left a lasting imprint upon the Italian movement as a whole, and whatever the future may bring, it has been a fruitful experiment.

Latvia

The YMCA in Latvia came into being in much the same way as did the Association in Esthonia, and is subject to similar environmental conditions. Like Esthonia, Latvia is a small new state, carved out of the old Russian Empire, primarily agricultural, and struggling to keep its independence as an economic unit. It also has large German and Russian populations, and a considerable number of Poles in the southeastern section of the country.

The Latvian YMCA has developed somewhat more slowly than the Association in Esthonia with respect to trained leadership, membership, program, and expansion, but its growth has been steady and firmly grounded. Until the last two years the work was limited to Riga. In 1929 and 1930, two branches were established under volunteer leadership, with whatever assistance could be given by the Riga staff,—one in a small town and one in a rural community. There is as yet no national committee, although plans for organizing it are under consideration.

The Riga Association has a competent and well trained staff, but thus far no national has been appointed to take over the

executive direction of the work, which still rests in the hands of the American secretary. Expansion could go on more rapidly if there were secretaries available, but the problem of finding the right men, training them and financing them has been too great.

Riga is a much larger city than Tallinn, with many young people's organizations of one sort and another, and consequently the YMCA is not so great a factor in the community as it is in Tallinn, but it is certainly one of the leading organizations, is highly esteemed by Latvians and Russians, and is loyally supported. As in Esthonia, the German element holds off. The Riga Association has a special branch for Russian boys in one of the suburbs, which has done much to win the sympathy and gratitude of the Russian population who are for the most part desperately poor.

The president of the Riga YMCA is a leading Lutheran clergyman, and no doubt this has helped to win approval in Lutheran church circles, although in general their attitude appears to be as already described with respect to the YMCA in Esthonia. Friendly relations exist between the YMCA and some of the Russian clergy. Thus far the governing board is entirely Latvian Lutheran in its personnel, but the Association recognizes the desirability of having Russian and German representatives also, and expects to include them later.

The Riga Association owns a piece of land and a house on a residential street, and leases a large, well equipped athletic field. The main building, which was formerly a private dwelling, is not well adapted to Association activities, nor is it centrally located. It is hoped that eventually the present property may be sold and a good site with a modern YMCA building may be secured with help from abroad.

Physical work and boys work are the two major aspects of the program. The YMCA has had much to do with the development of physical education in Latvia and is still looked on as a leader in this field. The educational program has diminished as public educational facilities have increased. The most important piece of educational work still carried on is a technical school operated jointly by the YMCA and the government. The Asso-

ciation has maintained close relationships with the Boy Scouts and serves as one of the district headquarters, which has meant that some of the boys groups follow the regular four-fold YMCA program and some the Scout program. Religious work has its place in the program during the week of prayer, in occasional services, and in conference periods, but is more or less incidental.

The YMCA in Latvia gives the impression of a well-rooted institution under adequate leadership which would continue whether or not foreign cooperation were withdrawn. The chief function of the American secretary, in addition to directing the work of the Riga Association, is training and the building of a national movement. North American assistance is considered necessary by Latvian leaders, especially in view of their desire for a building and a staff trained to operate it successfully. Whether a wiser procedure would be to leave this problem for the nationals to solve is a question that merits serious and impartial consideration. There is no lack of interest in the YMCA as an organization providing for the wholesome use of leisure time, measured in terms of membership, public approval and financial support. But to what extent it is making a distinctive contribution to Latvia, to what extent those associated with it really understand and care for the deeper implications of the YMCA movement as a whole, to what extent it has spiritual vitality, can hardly be determined until its leaders are faced with the full responsibility for carrying it on, and until they re-examine the basis of the whole work and decide for themselves what ends the Association in Latvia shall serve.

The principles that have served as a guide for the YWCA in Latvia from the beginning of its work reflect a lively awareness of the world movement and a realization of the special problems of the country. They are embodied in the building of a Christian fellowship among girls and young women, interest in social questions and in the position of women, and the creation of better understanding between the different national and religious groups within the state. As in Esthonia, the leaders of the YWCA in Latvia have recognized that the international and interconfessional character of the Association could not be maintained with-

out full participation of the minority elements, and representation of the German and Russian groups on the governing board, on committees, and on the staff of the Riga Association has been consistently maintained. The Association has also made a special point of keeping in touch with other women's organizations and working with them as far as possible. In influence, in size and in prestige, it is a leader among these organizations, and while it has yet far to go in building a stable and permanent economic base, it receives generous support from the community and subsidies for special pieces of work from the government. It is regarded in Lutheran and Russian Orthodox circles in much the same light as the YMCA, except that there appears to be a tendency to regard the YWCA as having a somewhat stronger religious character.

Until very recently the work has been confined to Riga and its suburbs. The central branch occupies most of a large building on one of the busiest corners of the business district, an ideal location. The move to these larger quarters was made in 1929 and has greatly increased both the opportunities for program expansion and the financial burden, but the experiment has proved well worth the cost. In addition to the main building, the Association has a boarding home for school girls from the provinces, and a small but flourishing branch in one of the industrial suburbs for young women in the textile mills. There are also two newly established centers in different parts of the city where the need for Association work is particularly urgent, and Girl Reserve work has been organized in Bauska, near the Lithuanian frontier. These recent developments, undertaken after careful consideration, are evidence of the vitality of the work and the keen desire on the part of Association leaders to promote healthy, steady growth. The creation of a national committee will be one of the next steps.

The membership is varied and includes school girls, employed women, "home makers," and professional women of all three nationalities. Group work is the core of the Association program. Intensive work with small groups has developed a membership in which the Association idea is strong—people who are consciously

definitely a part of the movement. Association in a fellowship that calls for a considerable amount of give and take in the pursuit of its ideals is of special significance for Latvian women, who apparently find it rather difficult to work together. This difficulty has manifested itself at various times in the history of the Riga YWCA and it is of interest to note that loyalty to what the Association stands for is the thing that has overcome personal differences. The YWCA apparently has an outstanding record among Latvian women's organizations for success in creating a spirit of solidarity.

Originally the Riga YWCA carried on an extensive educational program, but there is no longer so great a demand for language and vocational classes, which can be found outside the Association and often at a lower cost. Physical education is not yet a major feature since there is no full-time physical director and adequate equipment is lacking, but interest in this phase of the work appears to be on the increase. Religious work is emphasized, especially in the Girl Reserve groups and in the summer conference periods.

In 1929, at the request of the government, the Association opened an employment bureau with a temporary hostel for unemployed women, which in the two years of its existence has done excellent work. The government subsidizes the bureau, and also pays the salary of the director of the student hostel.

It has not been altogether easy to secure the right secretarial leadership in Latvia, and personnel problems have been difficult to adjust. At the present time, however, the Riga YWCA has a competent staff, several of whom have been with the Association five years or more and are deeply imbued with the spirit of the work, and the other more recently appointed secretaries show real promise. With respect to lay leadership, the YWCA is steadily drawing in women of a diversity of interests and gifts, who take their responsibilities very seriously and are becoming increasingly skillful in handling the problems that arise. Faced with an extremely difficult financial situation the Riga board has shown remarkable determination and courage. The Association in Latvia is well on its way to becoming an indigenous movement.

It is already self-propagating, it has attained a large measure of self-support, and, most important of all, the basic principles of the YWCA have taken so firm a hold that one can look forward to the future with the greatest optimism and confidence in the fundamental soundness of the work.

Poland

When the decision to organize a civilian YMCA in Poland was made, the widespread activities of the war and armistice periods were curtailed, and civilian work was eventually limited to three centers—Warsaw, the political capital of the country, Krakow, the cultural capital, and Lodz, an important industrial city. In addition to the three local branches, the National Council of the Polish YMCA was set up, with headquarters in Warsaw. Although many opportunities for expansion are open, the policy of the Association is to build up the existing work without attempting anything further at present.

The YMCA in Poland is seeking to take root in a purely Roman Catholic *milieu* under purely Roman Catholic leadership, a situation that is not duplicated in any other European country. Poland has, of course, a large German Lutheran population in Poznan, where the Christlicher Verein Junger Männer is still officially affiliated with the Association in Germany, and a large Russian Orthodox population in the east. But with these elements the Polish YMCA has not yet concerned itself, except that the Lodz Association includes a number of Germans. The chief concern of the Polish YMCA is to be Polish first and foremost and acceptable in flavor to the Poles, who, save for the Jewish and German minorities, are in general Roman Catholic as inevitably as Greeks are Orthodox. Polish culture is Roman Catholic culture, and whoever is not Catholic is not truly Polish. This identification of religion and nationality is important because it means that considerations which appear to be solely religious are in fact also political. In the other two Catholic countries with which the survey was concerned, Italy and Portugal, the YMCA is definitely interconfessional, which gives a quite different slant to the whole work.

Inasmuch as the Roman Catholic Church does not allow lay leadership in religious matters, the YMCA is admittedly in Poland what it is predominantly wherever the North American movement has initiated the work, namely, a social and educational institution, using the term "educational" to include character training. The YMCA is generally so regarded in Polish government circles and by those familiar with the work of the local centers, and is welcomed and supported. The Association has gained influential friends in government, professional and business circles, and the national and local boards include outstanding men, some of whom are deeply interested in the YMCA and what it can offer Polish youth. Although the Polish personnel includes men of marked ability, the YMCA has not yet found a way to recruit and retain an adequate number of qualified nationals, and the major executive positions are still held by Americans. The personnel problem is one of the most difficult still to be solved and is particularly serious in view of the new building now under construction in Warsaw, and the building projected for Lodz.

Much emphasis is laid by the National Council on leadership training. Training processes and the program are permeated by North American methods, and the work in general has a North American flavor. Polish leaders are unanimous, however, in insisting that the ideology of the YMCA is in harmony with the Polish character and that its program is well fitted to the needs of the country. Aside from definitely religious work, the program of the YMCA is on the whole fairly typical, varying in the different branches according to local conditions. Krakow with its modern building can of course put on a more typical program than Lodz, which has been greatly handicapped by lack of facilities and by financial difficulties. The program has been characterized in the Polish survey report as experimental, trying out a large number of different activities rather than consistently developing a few of the features most characteristic of the YMCA. The National Council holds an unusually conspicuous place in the Polish YMCA. The chief functions of the Council are training, the supervision and integration of the work of the

branches, the operation of the national boys camp, and the interpretation of the Association to the public. Whether the latter function should be emphasized to the extent that is now done is doubtful. It tends to center attention on the theoretical aspects of Association work rather than on the actual work of the local Associations, which must in the last analysis determine the character of the YMCA.

There are many reasons to expect continued growth and prestige for the YMCA in Poland. Relations with the government are extremely friendly. Attacks from Roman Catholic circles have died down. The Association has many influential friends. On the other hand, serious problems confront the Polish movement. The first of these is the question of recruiting, training, and particularly of retaining, Polish secretaries capable of taking over full responsibility for the work under boards of directors who accept full responsibility. Poland does not lack competent social and educational leadership. The fact that Americans still hold the major executive positions in the YMCA is a matter for searching study. A second problem is semi-political. The tendency toward centralized government found in many European countries is accentuated in Poland by the long period of the Partitions, and the consequent differences which have grown up in the psychology of the population of the various sections. Every effort of the government is bent on consolidating the country into an organic whole, and this tendency is reflected in the organization of the YMCA, which is in many respects highly centralized. The problem still to be solved is the working out of a form of organization that will develop a thoroughly integrated movement and at the same time allow the fullest measure of local autonomy, without which local boards of directors cannot be expected to assume real responsibility for the local work. A third problem, related to the second, is the matter of inter-group and interconfessional relationships. As expansion takes place, this will become more and more important. In view of the fact that many members of the World's Committee of the YMCA believe that the Association is in a peculiarly strategic position to bring together diverse national and confessional groups and that it can make an

important contribution to the life of post-war Europe in so doing, it is fair to raise the question of the future policy of the YMCA in Poland in the field of international and interconfessional relationships. A fourth question may be raised that is perhaps the fundamental one: Is the YMCA in Poland seeking to build an institution which, while undoubtedly useful socially and educationally, will be merely Polish, or is it seeking to build a branch of the world brotherhood? It may be that both processes are going on simultaneously, but it should be pointed out that many of the Polish leaders of the Association are not yet clear as to the ultimate purposes of the YMCA in their country.

Portugal

The YMCA in Portugal was originally a federation of Association groups with membership in an evangelical church as their membership basis, closely linked to the Protestant churches and reaching few young men outside evangelical circles. The three Associations now in existence are the YMCAs of Lisbon, Oporto and Coimbra. There is still in theory a national committee, which has, however, not met for years, and there is no immediate prospect of its revival. The North American "sphere of influence" is Lisbon and the student community at Coimbra. American secretaries who had served with Portuguese troops during the war, returned to Portugal with them after the Armistice, with the result that an American secretary was sent to Lisbon and has been there ever since as general secretary of the Association. A student building was put up at Coimbra in 1918, the building funds and the leadership coming from North America. There has been little contact between the old and the new work, represented respectively by the YMCAs of Oporto and Lisbon. Leaders of the Lisbon Association decided some years ago to do away with the evangelical church membership requirement in the membership basis and to adopt a modified form of the Paris Basis in order to open the membership to others besides those of the Protestant faith. This, theoretically, amounted to a withdrawal from the national federation but, since the national committee no longer existed as an active agent, no official action was taken.

Recently there has been a gradual drawing together of the Lisbon and Oporto Associations and it is hoped that eventually a common basis may be agreed upon and the national movement revived and extended.

The YMCA in Portugal has had some particularly difficult problems to solve, one of the greatest of which is the creation of responsible national leadership in a Roman Catholic country which is none too stable politically and economically is in a bad way. The Roman Catholic Church has maintained its traditional attitude toward the YMCA, although it has not been actively and openly hostile. Since the Association began as a purely Protestant organization it naturally takes time for people to grasp its present interconfessional character. For some years there was a majority of Anglo-Saxons on the governing board of the Lisbon YMCA, but recently progress has been made in drawing in representative Portuguese and the present board has a majority of Portuguese members. England and America have large commercial interests in Portugal, and the English and American board members have done invaluable work in getting financial support for the Association. Present political conditions make it inadvisable for the YMCA to attempt the money-raising techniques successful elsewhere, but the Portuguese community is now giving increased financial support and the Association has made great strides in winning recognition and appreciation in Portuguese circles. The Lisbon YMCA must seek support not only for itself but for the Coimbra student branch, which has little prospect of raising more than a negligible proportion of its budget locally.

The Lisbon Association owns a fair-sized piece of property in one of the main business districts, on which is a gymnasium, a barrack for boys work, and another small building. The main office and social rooms are in an adjoining house which the YMCA hopes to be able to purchase and rebuild. The premises as a whole are attractive and, while more space and various improvements are needed, the equipment is fairly adequate for present activities. There are approximately 800 members, most of whom are attracted by the physical department, which is do-

ing excellent work of a character unique in Portugal. Boys work receives considerable emphasis also and, in addition to its own boy members, the Association is serving about 150 boys employed in street trades, a much neglected group.

While the YMCA is best known for its physical work, it is recognized by many influential persons as a character-building agency of great significance for Portugal. They believe that the Association is helping to introduce modern educational methods and an understanding of the psychology of young men and boys unknown to Portuguese educators. They condemn the present educational system as sterile and lacking in moral influence and intellectual stimulus, and regard the YMCA as a center of enlightenment of great potential value. In few countries is so much expected of the Association by its friends as in Portugal and certainly it has unlimited opportunity for services to Portuguese youth that are now rendered by no other institution in the country. The extent of its influence will be conditioned by many factors, economic and political, and above all by its leadership.

The secretarial staff of the Lisbon YMCA consists of the American general secretary, the Swiss physical director, and two Portuguese secretaries, both of whom have been trained in the Geneva School. Financial considerations preclude the possibility of a large staff at the present time, or even of a staff adequate to present needs, but additional Portuguese secretaries are urgently needed, and particularly a Portuguese general secretary. A well trained, enthusiastic leaders' corps is an invaluable aid to the staff and makes possible more extensive activities than the professional personnel could carry alone.

The Coimbra Student Association has been under Portuguese leadership since 1922. Coimbra is a stronghold of Catholicism and conservatism, and the development of student work has been extremely difficult. However, the personal and intellectual gifts of the general secretary and his interpretation of the YMCA to the student body are attracting the best elements in the university, and while the membership is small, a little over 200, including a boys department of about 60, the Association has made a real place for itself. At present it is definitely limited to

university students and secondary school pupils, with a few graduates living in Coimbra as associate members. Whether it will ever become a combination city and student Association remains to be seen. The gulf between the townspeople and the university, similar to that of "town and gown" days at Oxford, is not easily bridged.

While the future of the YMCA in Portugal depends to some extent upon circumstances over which it has no control, its increasing prestige and influence are good evidence that it has the capacity for growth essential to a movement. It may eventually have a significant place in Portuguese national life.

Roumania

The YMCA in Roumania is represented by the Bucharest Association and a small center in a neighboring community which is conducted by volunteers. After the Armistice extensive work was carried on for both the army and the civilian population, all of which was eventually given up except the YMCA in Bucharest. The building up of the movement in Roumania is a slow process, for this particular field presents great difficulties.

Roumania does not provide a soil in which the growth of an institution like the YMCA is likely to be rapid. Latin in culture and Eastern Orthodox in religion, the people of the country must have time in which to understand and absorb ideas that have come to them in the first instance in Anglo-Saxon and Protestant forms. The Orthodox Church has been able to help very little, if at all, in interpreting the YMCA because it still stands apart from the common life of the people and, while the Association numbers among its supporters a few of the Orthodox clergy, as a whole they are indifferent or hostile. Politically Roumania has had a tempestuous time since the Armistice. Instability in public life is bound to have an effect upon a community organization like the YMCA, particularly when politics are a major concern of the leading classes of society, as is the case in Roumania. The country has many public men of the highest caliber. The trouble is, there are not enough of them for such times as these. It is among such men that the YMCA has won its best friends,

but those who most heartily endorse the Association and see in it an institution greatly needed in Roumania are under too great pressure of other responsibilities to give much time to Association problems. The YMCA needs friends in high places, but at the present time it needs even more lay leaders who are both willing and able to make it a major interest and to accept real responsibility for it.

The problem of professional leadership also has not yet been solved. There are three full-time secretaries and one on part time, and the American adviser, who is also boys work secretary. Each member of the staff is doing excellent work in his own particular field, but thus far there is no national qualified by personality, training and experience to carry the work forward, to interpret the Association idea, to make connections with important groups and individuals, to undertake major responsibilities, to represent the Association *vis-à-vis* the community, and to make it felt as a real force. This is something that must be done by Roumanian leadership, and the YMCA will be greatly handicapped until it secures such a leader.

The Bucharest Association has approximately 400 members, and a large number of outside groups using the gymnasium, with a total of about 2,000 participants. Physical work is the outstanding program feature and the YMCA has undoubtedly made a significant contribution to standards of sportsmanship. With respect to other program elements, the policy has been to concentrate on boys work and in this way to build up a membership familiar with Association ideals from childhood. This policy is already bearing fruit in the growing body of young volunteer leaders, some of whom could undoubtedly be drawn into the work permanently if finances permitted a larger staff. The Association has not yet successfully developed work with students nor with other young men whose interests lie outside athletics. Except for the gymnasium, the best in the city, built with North American funds, the YMCA has little in the way of attractive features or facilities to draw young men. Moreover, the young Roumanian from all accounts is not attracted by many of the forms of recreation found in a YMCA. The café and the boulevard are his play-

ground, and, according to his fellow countrymen, he usually lacks the social idealism to which the Association has appealed with such success in certain countries. It is just because of these characteristics that many thoughtful Roumanians believe in the YMCA as an educational and socializing force of great value for the country, but to build up a membership of young men really committed to the ideals for which the Association stands is most difficult. Under the circumstances the policy of emphasis on boys work seems thoroughly sound. The YMCA has been very successful in establishing contacts with boys' secondary schools and has 17 groups from as many schools. It has also made an excellent beginning with employed boys. A number of industrial plants are keenly interested in this phase of the work, as are also representatives of the government, who have actively cooperated by paying expenses of apprentices at the summer camp and in various other ways. The camp is an important feature of the boys work program and it is significant that boys of different social classes have been brought together in camp on the friendliest of terms, a remarkable achievement in Roumania. Furthermore, in 1930 eight German boys from Transylvania attended camp, the first representatives of a minority group. The young Germans were cordially received by their Roumanian camp-mates and the experiment was a valuable one all round. If the YMCA can serve as an instrument for the promotion of friendly relations between the diverse nationalities of old and new Roumania, even on a small scale, it will go far to justify its existence in the country by that contribution alone.

At present, the YMCA is going through a financial crisis of the first order, and without continued aid from outside prospects for the future would be very dark. The American representative in Roumania is struggling against great odds. The Bucharest Association has already proved that the best elements in the country will support it and real progress has been made. Present difficulties are great but they are not insurmountable, and few countries offer a larger opportunity for Association service or present more obvious needs. The environment is not hostile to the YMCA but, rather, alien to it. Much patient cultivation will

be necessary before a great advance should be expected. At the same time, there are social and intellectual forces operative in Roumania today that will help to carry forward the work of the YMCA, provided the right leaders can be found, and the values inherent in its present work are eminently worth conserving.

Service to Russians

The North American YMCA work with Russians in Europe is unique in respect to setting, purpose, clientèle, types of service and organizational relationships. Instead of attempting to build a national movement within a given country, the Association extends its service not only to the Russian *diaspora* in a number of European countries but, through a correspondence school, to individual Russians in many parts of the world. Instead of working with a national group in their natural environment, it has to do with an emigrant population uprooted from their own soil, who do not desire to become integrated with the life of the countries in which they are temporarily settled, whose eyes are fixed on a restored Russia, who have suffered untold privations and hardships, and who are cut off from most of the normal social relationships that are necessary to wholesome living. Instead of following a typical YMCA pattern of activities, the Association has had to adapt itself to the desires and purposes of an intensely loyal group of Russian Orthodox, whose chief purpose is to preserve Eastern Orthodox religion and culture. Instead of building up one organization under a responsible directorate which would eventually assume responsibility for all activities, it is co-operating with several different, though closely related, organizations, toward some of which it holds a purely advisory relationship while carrying direct responsibility for others. Furthermore, it is hardly possible to look forward to a time when the Russian *émigré* population will be able to carry all, or even any, of these organizations financially without outside help. Therefore it cannot be said that the YMCA is engaged in building a "self-supporting movement" so far as its work with Russians is concerned.

The headquarters of the Russian work and its field of great-

est activity are in Paris, the center of Russian *émigré* life. The several organizations referred to above are: the Russian Correspondence School, the YMCA Press, the Russian Student Christian Movement, the Religious-Pedagogical Cabinet, and the Religious-Philosophical Academy. Mention should also be made of the Russian Theological Seminary in Paris, which, though entirely separate organizationally, came into existence by means of, and is partly maintained by, funds collected with the assistance of North American YMCA secretaries, largely from Episcopal and Anglican church circles.

The Russian Correspondence School provides an opportunity for technical education to thousands of Russians, many of whom are working in isolated communities where it would be impossible for them to obtain any sort of vocational training. The school offers a wide range of courses, scientific, technical and cultural. Each pupil receives a maximum of individual attention from members of the faculty and the staff. It may be said that the school serves two purposes: it furnishes much-needed vocational training of a high grade to a clientèle who would find it difficult or impossible to secure similar training elsewhere, and, through its bulletin and personal correspondence, it helps to build up the morale of young *émigrés* living for the most part under abnormal and discouraging conditions. The many letters received from students of the school indicate that it has been the means of improving the professional status of a large number of Russians and that it has contributed in no small measure to their adjustment to life in a new environment. The school is the direct responsibility of the North American YMCA.

The YMCA Press is another direct responsibility of the North American movement. It exists because the commercial publishing houses do not find it profitable to publish Russian books, except fiction. The press has issued a number of textbooks for the Correspondence School but for the most part it has specialized in Russian religious literature. It is a costly enterprise because the clientèle is small and, therefore, each edition is limited to a relatively small number of copies.

The Russian Student Christian Movement is the core of the

Russian work and is in some respects not unlike a combined YMCA and YWCA. Originally consisting of widely scattered independent circles of young Russians who gathered together for fellowship and a corporate religious life, the movement took form and a definite organization through the efforts of the YMCA, the YWCA, and the World's Student Christian Federation. In 1927 it became a completely autonomous entity, still dependent on outside financial assistance and to some extent upon American secretarial service, but, theoretically at least, "self-directing and self-propagating." There are branches of the movement in various parts of France, in the Baltic States, in Czechoslovakia and in Germany. The movement is animated by a "purely Eastern Orthodox spirit with service to the Russian Church as its chief aim." The central idea of the movement is the "churchification of life," that is, the building of Christian character and a Christian social order in accordance with the teachings of Russian Orthodoxy. The YMCA has made its chief contribution to the movement in broadening and enriching the somewhat narrowly religious program, in developing the methodology of group work and the work for boys and girls, and in camp life. The movement has also learned much from the Association in the way of organizational techniques and money-raising methods.

The Religious-Pedagogical Cabinet is an outgrowth of the Russian Student Christian Movement and serves to train leaders for the young people's and children's groups in the movement in modern methods of religious education. The Sunday and Thursday schools for children are conducted by the Cabinet.

The Religious-Philosophical Academy, founded in Moscow in 1920 by a group of Russian professors and carried over into the emigration when its leaders were exiled from the U.S.S.R. in 1922, is the fifth division of the work for Russians which the North American movement is assisting. The purpose of the Academy is to make available to the emigration and to interpret to the West the ideas of the leading Russian religious and philosophical thinkers. It does this through lecture courses and through its magazine *Put* (The Way), and its leaders are closely associated with the other branches of the Russian work.

The Academy is significant not only because it includes some of the most distinguished intellectual leaders of the Russian emigration but also because its members are men with some historical perspective who can look at present-day Russia with calmer eyes than the young people who went through the experience of war, revolution and exile at their most impressionable age.

The assumptions underlying the Russian work may be summed up briefly as follows: a belief in the unchanging character of the Orthodox Church in its dogmatical and liturgical aspects; a belief in the Church as the embodiment and preserver of Russian culture; a belief in a future Russia in which the Orthodox Church will again play a leading part; a belief that emigrant youth (and those in Russia who share their convictions) are the preservers of the Russian religious tradition and hence the saviors of future Russia; a belief that the Russian Student Christian Movement and the associated organizations are preparing for similar work on a large scale in Russia itself. These convictions inevitably give rise to the question, Is the YMCA in its work with Russians in Europe helping to foster an illusion? Association secretaries have given themselves, their service and their sympathy unstintingly to Russian *émigré* youth. They have won the confidence and affection of the Russians, who recognize that there is no attempt or desire on the part of the Americans to press for a Protestant point of view, but that, on the contrary, the latter are doing all in their power to help preserve the values of Russian Orthodoxy and Russian culture.

The North American movement conceives its task in Paris as one of conserving the spiritual values represented in the Russian Orthodox Church and cross-fertilizing that religious tradition with the broader social motive of American Christianity, against the day when, no matter what the political fate of Russia may be, the Russian Orthodox movement will again find more influential expression. YMCA leaders also point to the developing relations between Russian and Anglican churchmen

as evidence that the movement with which they are cooperating is not ingrowing, and is contributing to church unity.

The cooperative enterprise in Paris has opened up a richer, fuller, more wholesome life to many young Russians and in this respect the Russian work deserves unqualified admiration. Whether this work is of an emergency character, serving the needs of a temporary emigrant population in a transition stage, or whether it is really building a permanent foundation for future work in Russia, as both Americans and Russians believe, is a question that only time can answer.

THE FAR EAST

China

The Christian Association movements in China are among the oldest with which the North American Foreign Divisions have cooperated. They have been perhaps the most popular in North America and have received considerably more in personnel and financial assistance than any other movements. Since about ten years ago, they have had to function in an atmosphere of far-reaching political, social and economic upheaval. While revolutionary changes are almost a commonplace in modern world history, they are taking place in China with more violent rapidity and within a vastly older and more rigid social order than is the case in any country of the West. The Christian Associations have had to withstand repeated and determined attacks that had their origin in the prevalent nationalistic anti-Christian and anti-foreign spirit. The YMCA has, furthermore, been singled out as an object of special enmity by the agents of Communist propaganda. The impressive degree to which both movements have been able to maintain themselves in the face of such organized opposition, often after the loss of material possessions, is convincing evidence of their essential vitality.

In 1930 there were 38 city Associations in the YMCA movement. They were all organized between 1895 and 1924, and were situated in the larger provincial capitals and port cities. The extraordinarily difficult environmental conditions are reflected in the fact that relatively few of them were functioning

vigorously; the bulk of the program was accounted for by about a third of the centers. On the other hand, some half dozen local Associations were found to be remarkably strong and influential in their respective communities. The student organizations, however, were practically all at a very low ebb; a state of affairs encountered, with few exceptions, all over the world.

Following the normal Association pattern, the local Associations are federated in a national organization with headquarters at Shanghai. This National Council has achieved a remarkable prestige for the China YMCA as a whole, both on account of the considerable number of outstanding men it has attracted to the movement and on account of the elaborate social service programs it has launched on a national scale. This is perhaps the most distinguishing feature of the China YMCA and one for which it is justly famous throughout the Association world. The most conspicuous achievements have been in the field of physical and general education. The danger always inherent in such an arrangement, however, has made itself felt in this instance, for there has developed an unwholesome lack of coordination and division of interest between the local centers and the general headquarters. The latter has tended to become too much an independent organization, preoccupied with projects of its own rather than with strengthening the work of the local units. Its achievements in health education and in attacking popular illiteracy, the latter by means of the noted "1000 character" classes, may be cited as activities that have permanently enriched the programs of the local Associations, but this cannot be said of the spectacular athletic programs of the past, or of the work of the present literature and lecture departments.

A more serious failure was the breakdown of the national system for secretarial training. The personnel situation among the China Associations was found to be particularly acute, so far as the native staff in the local centers is concerned, and the turnover has been high enough to be very disquieting. Substantial improvement cannot be expected until greater care is taken in recruiting procedures, in providing more adequate remuneration and security, in granting more definite scope for growth in

the service, and in establishing a permanent and effective training system. These are all problems to which the National Council may legitimately be expected to address itself.

The general situation of the city Associations was found to exhibit some excellent and some less satisfactory features, not all of the latter attributable to the political disorder of the country. The "building membership" is predominantly non-Christian and is drawn from the ranks of younger business and government employees. Active membership is carefully restricted to baptized Christians in order to ensure control by a group honestly dedicated to the ideals of the Association—for it requires no little courage in present-day China openly to join the Christian church—and to prevent infiltration and eventual domination on the part of Communists. The program offered is heavily weighted on the side of general education, usually commercial and practical in nature. In fact, the only activities that seem to have gained ground since 1920 are free schools and lectures. Another feature that seems to be meeting a real need is the dormitories maintained by the larger Associations. That the religious program should, with rare exceptions, be rather weak is not to be wondered at in view of the environmental conditions, nor is it perhaps surprising to note that boys work is making relatively little headway, but the similar demoralized condition of the physical program is a serious weakness that reflects somewhat the policies of the past. The National Council, while making splendid public demonstrations in this field, has apparently not succeeded in convincing local boards of the values in such work; when economies became necessary the brunt was felt in the physical departments. With respect to financial matters the record of the local centers is impressive. While indebtedness on buildings or current expenses, or both, is a fairly common condition, the amounts involved are not high, especially in view of the distressing economic state of China. In 1929, in fact, the Associations raised more money than in any previous year of their history. Whether the economy practiced, however, has been altogether wise is open to question in view of the unsatisfactory condition discovered with respect to program and personnel.

In the case of the YWCA twelve local centers are reported by the survey, likewise federated in a national organization with headquarters in Shanghai. While many of these Associations were in great difficulties on account of the disturbed political conditions, relatively strong centers were functioning in Canton, Shanghai, Peiping, Hongkong and Tientsin. Some 4,000 members are recorded for the movement and the same number are estimated to belong to the 70 or 80 student Associations. It should be pointed out, however, that these figures do not include the Girl Reserves nor any of the individuals served by the rural and industrial programs.

In the YWCA movement many of the same problems appear as in the YMCA. This is notably the case in regard to the basic difficulty of personnel, and the same remedies must be looked to for an adjustment. The situation of the YWCA is, if anything, the more difficult on account of the greater scarcity of available women and also because of loss to the secretaryship through marriage.

The program is predominantly educational in approach and with special emphasis on "home betterment" courses in child training, cooking, sewing, baby and maternity welfare, and the like. The magazine published by the National Council and known as *The Green Year* ranks as one of the three leading periodicals for women in the country. While additional projects are carried on more or less regularly in welfare work of various kinds, in Girl Reserve activities and in hostels, the criticism was frequently encountered that the YWCA was opportunistic and tended to dissipate its resources. It would commend itself more to the general public, perhaps, if it concentrated on doing a few things well and over a protracted period of time.

A noted feature of the YWCA movement in China is its emphasis on lay leadership. This is a characteristic policy of the YWCA everywhere, but it has been given marked attention in China. The membership consists of older married women more than is usually the case, and these groups are central in the life of the Association. The greatest effort of the North American personnel is given to developing in the boards and committees

a democratic and living fellowship, from the interests of which the activities of a given center may be derived. This procedure, though slow and not spectacular in results, is rooted in the basic conception of the Association as a "movement," as distinguished from a service agency, and is of unusual promise for the future. The industrial program at Shanghai may be cited as a practical demonstration of the method. Another illustration, and one that clearly validates the underlying principle, is afforded by the circumstance that the board women in Hangchow and Changsha have been able to hold the local Associations together, with very little secretarial assistance either national or foreign, in the face of war conditions of the most active kind.

Japan

The Christian Association movements in Japan were among the first to receive assistance and leadership from North America. They have grown up in a period of national expansion and have witnessed the rise of Japan to the front rank among world powers. While it is easy to over-emphasize the clash of cultures in the course of their development, it is nevertheless clear that the Christian Associations have not been left untouched by the sensitive spirit of Japanese nationalism. It has been characteristic of this people in their recent history that they have been willing and able to learn as much as possible from the West without yielding anything of national independence.

Eleven local centers were reported in the YMCA movement, situated in the leading cities of the country, and federated in a national organization with headquarters in Tokyo. The general membership is largely non-Christian, while active membership is reserved for baptized church members only. The YMCA of Japan is especially noted for the ability and energy of its lay leadership. The program is dominantly educational in emphasis; the night school at Osaka is especially well attended. English classes represent the heart of this work in all centers. Dormitories are maintained in the larger cities and are apparently in constant use. Relatively small groups were using the gymnasia, except in Tokyo. This is due in large measure to the fact that

the Japanese government has installed a very thoroughgoing system of physical education in the public schools. Japanese young people are, moreover, very serious minded and not much interested in sports or outdoor life. The absence of vitality in the religious program may be attributed, to some extent, to the widespread indifference to religion everywhere, but also to a lack of unity on this point in the leadership of the Japanese YMCAs. There is a difference in approach and in interpretation between the conservative board members and the more liberal younger staff members that has not been satisfactorily adjusted. A striking omission in the program is in the field of social service. While the YMCA has cooperated with the government in the past, especially during the Russo-Japanese War and again at the time of the earthquake of 1923, it is at present not evidencing much interest in the social problems of Japan.

The major difficulty confronting the YMCA at the time of the International Survey was one of staff relationships. What was to all intents and purposes a deadlock had been reached between the Japanese and foreign (*i.e.*, North American) employed staff. The atmosphere presented a curious mixture of mutual goodwill and a strong desire on the part of the Japanese to be free of foreign tutelage. The psychological conflict was only aggravated by the efforts of the North Americans to help. They themselves found relief from enforced idleness in all manner of outside activities. It should be emphatically stated, however, that the situation was most acute in the national office and represented a clash of personalities quite as much as one of cultures. Moreover, there were definite signs before the completion of the survey that this difficulty was approaching a solution.

The five centers of the YWCA movement are situated in the leading cities of Japan, with national headquarters in Tokyo. The same differences exist between the active and associate (*i.e.*, general) membership as obtain in the YMCA. The main program emphasis is on educational work, and the desire was frequently encountered to shift even more definitely from training in "accomplishments" to more practical subjects. Only in Tokyo have physical activities been developed to any extent, but there one

finds adequate and imposing equipment. The religious program has suffered from the failure of the North Americans to understand the emotional nature of the Japanese girls. Only rather opportunistic attempts have so far been made in industrial work.

The YWCA of Japan has suffered considerably from problems in leadership and has not yet seen its way through to an adjustment. Again, the difficulty has been greatest at the national headquarters, and that it is primarily one of personalities is indicated by the fact that nearly as much misunderstanding was discovered between the older and younger North American secretaries as between the Japanese and the foreigners as a group.

In spite of the strained situation, unmistakable evidence was found that both the YMCA and YWCA movements genuinely desire to continue cooperative relationships with the Foreign Divisions of North America.

Korea

The Korean YMCA dates from 1900, when an American secretary to China sought refuge in Seoul from the Boxer Rebellion and became impressed with the possibilities there for Association work. A decisive turn was given to the course of its development ten years later when the country was annexed by Japan. This event deeply affected the whole of Korean life. Strict police supervision and censorship are still maintained over public gatherings and utterances of all kinds, as a precaution against Korean uprising and Russian Communist propaganda. Relations between Koreans and Japanese are indeed so strained that only one organization—a humane society—is said to exist where they can cooperate even for common ends.

The psychology of a subject people may be said to be the major conditioning factor in the life of the Korean YMCA. It has shown a marked interest in its national autonomy as an organization, and achieved this autonomy at the expense of official Japanese cordiality. It has sedulously avoided all outside influences except that of the North American Associations. Furthermore, the anti-religious feeling of the years 1919-1923 cost

the movement much of the goodwill it had previously enjoyed from the Koreans themselves. Since 1925, however, its popularity has been greatly increased by the program of rural uplift launched at that time. This project consists in village demonstration centers, organized in areas near cities where there are local Associations, and lays particular stress on adult education and the development of farmers' cooperatives. The population of Korea is about 80 per cent rural, illiterate, and oppressed by grinding poverty; no problem confronts the nation as such with greater urgency than that of rural development. It is symptomatic of the temper of the Association that it has addressed itself to a task of this sort while its constituent local centers are, for the most part, in a wretched state of neglect and disintegration. While the chief effort of the latter has been in the educational field, consisting of day and night schools, the work is at present hampered by dilapidated equipment and inability to pay regular salaries. The opinion was frequently met that the program is mediocre and out-moded.

The YWCA is a much younger organization than the YMCA, having been formally inaugurated in 1922. The same influence has shaped its development as has been seen at work in the YMCA. The Association is entirely without foreign assistance in personnel. By far the most vigorous part of the movement is the National Committee, which has a better record for continuity and vitality than most undertakings by Korean women. The great weakness in the situation, however, is the total absence of strong local Associations. Such centers as exist are very small and more in touch with the mission stations of their vicinity than with their own movement. So far, nothing has been done to carry out the policies, resolutions and dreams of the national organization. There is, moreover, a great gulf between the elementary, indeed primitive, needs of most Korean women and the idealistic projects of the national leaders. Hitherto the entire organization has been carried on exclusively by volunteers. In 1929 an employed secretary was added to the national staff who may be able to achieve more unity and, perhaps, introduce more practical reality into the situation.

Philippine Islands

The North American YMCAs made their first contact with the Philippine Islands through the Army and Navy Department after the Spanish-American War. While the main development since that time has been in the city work promoted by the Foreign Division, the two units have not as yet combined or worked out desirable and constructive relationships.

The most striking feature of the city movement in the Philippines is the strong organizational system, heading up in Manila and symbolized there by magnificent buildings and equipment. The Association in Manila is organized on the metropolitan plan, with four branches, and there are smaller Associations in Cebu, Iloilo and Lingayen. While definite attempts are being made to follow democratic procedures, the whole network leads back very directly to the national headquarters and more especially to the national secretary. This condition reflects the pattern of centralized control so dominant in the social, economic and religious life of the Islands, and is emphasized by the fact that the outlying Associations are heavily dependent on the National Council for financial subsidies received from North America. The question may well be raised, however, whether foundations are not being laid by the present administration on a scale too ambitious ever to become indigenous. The local Associations are not likely to attain economic independence very rapidly on the present basis, and it is highly improbable that Filipino secretaries will be developed sufficiently versed in administrative techniques to carry the unusually heavy burden now borne by the American national secretary. A further question is in order as to the desirability of building up a movement, under any circumstances, that puts so high a premium on organizational gifts and capacities.

The program of the movement resembles more closely that of the North American Associations than is generally true in the Orient. This is notably the case with respect to the physical work in the city of Manila. Adaptations to local culture may, however, be noted in the large number of social and musical

entertainments carried on and in the modification of such religious work as there is to meet the Roman Catholic viewpoint. More definite adaptations appear in the membership requirements. The YMCAs of the Philippines seem to have been at greater pains than anywhere else in the world to make explicit in writing their interconfessional and personal basis; all young men are eligible for active membership if they can sign the Paris Basis, no matter whether they belong to the Roman Catholic, Independent, or Protestant churches, or indeed to no church at all.

The YWCA of the Philippine Islands is of very recent origin, having been organized in 1926. For about ten years before this time, however, a small group of Filipino women had been interested in the idea of an Association and working for its realization. These women are now represented on the board of directors. The YWCA is functioning as yet only in the city of Manila and without a building for program purposes. The relatively small staff, consisting of a general secretary and one specialist each in health education and Girl Reserve work, with an associate in the latter field, is devoting most of its time to community activities. Significant in the development of the Association to date has been the fact that it is proceeding very slowly and on the basis of studied needs. Thus careful investigations were made in the proper institutions before starting the work with Girl Reserves or the physical programs. Additional features are the center for business girls in the downtown district, the annual student conference, the summer camp, and a small hostel recently opened. The YWCA also has adopted an interconfessional policy and is proceeding on a personal basis for membership.

INDIA, BURMA AND CEYLON

The Christian Associations of India, Burma and Ceylon have been receiving assistance from abroad since the final decade of the last century. This assistance has come for the most part from North America and Great Britain, but also to some extent from Australia, New Zealand and elsewhere. The Associations are functioning in an exceedingly heterogeneous environment, the

complexities of which are thrown into high relief by internal dissension. The age-old religious conflict between Hindus and Moslems is matched by nationalistic protest from large sections of both groups against British overlordship and commercial exploitation. Developments of the last few years have produced a situation of acute excitability which has left its mark, financially and otherwise, on the work of the two movements.

The local Associations of the YMCA represent all types between the extremes of highly institutionalized units controlled by Europeans and religious fellowships in the hands of Indians. From the point of view of material resources and departmental development, the movement is strongest in the port cities of Calcutta, Bombay and Rangoon. Here the work is directed and supported by the European community, and the largest buildings are operated primarily for the European and Anglo-Indian representatives of the commercial and student classes. In the less industrialized cities of Lahore, Colombo and Madras the indigenous population has been considerably "Europeanized"—a result of strong missionary endeavor as well as of British commercial influence—and the local Associations have reached an advanced stage of Indian control and membership. These centers represent the greatest field of North American aid, while the British have usually gone to the port cities. In the so-called Mofussil towns, representing the inland seats of ancient Indian culture, the Associations are largely Indian in constituency. They were planned and equipped after the model developed in the leading commercial centers, without the needed constituency to fall back on for support. Finally, there are the many little village Associations of Travancore and Cochin, which function on a volunteer basis with very little equipment and constitute the most spiritually alive units in the movement. These, together with some of the smaller Associations in Ceylon, are instances of the ability of native leadership to secure native support for a program interesting to nationals.

The most serious problem confronting the Indian movement today is its financial condition. Contributions from Europeans, influenced by political conditions, have fallen off considerably

in recent times. This is, of course, felt most acutely by the larger units and the National Council. While the Indian contributions to the Mofussil centers have, on the other hand, been on the increase, the financial requirements of their buildings are incommensurate with the capacity of the Indian Christian community. The problem is most acute in the National Council itself, which is dependent for well over half its operating income on assistance from abroad. It has not a financial base within the countries it serves and is organized on a scale that the indigenous Christian population will probably not be able to support.

The program has been dominated, since the war, by the ideal of social service somewhat to the detriment of the life of local Associations. The physical directors, Indian and foreign alike, give most of their energies to community enterprise, for instance, rather than to the Association membership. The lecture and publication departments of the National Council serve a large outside constituency. The same is true in large measure of the extensive project in rural reconstruction sponsored by the national organization. This work represents perhaps the outstanding achievement in social service within the movements studied by the present survey, and consists mainly in adult education in improved farming and housing methods and in the development of farmers' cooperatives. Only one of the four demonstration centers, however, is linked to the life of the movement itself. This is the unit at Trivandrum which finds its natural outlet through the little village Associations.

The preoccupation of the national organization with outside activities is serious, because the local Associations are not in a truly healthy condition. This is the case not only with respect to program and financial matters but in the more central concern of indigenous leadership. That the personnel situation is very unsatisfactory is evidenced not only by the wide-spread discontent and complaint of economic insecurity encountered among the Indian secretaries but also by the revealing fact that young college men are not being attracted to the service. Yet it was the Bangalore training-school, rather than any of the other projects, that was closed when financial pressure was felt.

The YWCA of India, Burma and Ceylon is controlled by the British community and likewise has a serious financial problem. The question is again primarily that of the source of supply. While the European groups contribute liberally to the work, only negligible amounts are secured from Indians and heavy foreign subsidies in personnel and funds are necessary for its maintenance. The YWCA has practically restricted its service, thus far, to the Anglo-Indian element of the population; and no group is more clearly within the historic scope and "field" of the two Associations throughout the world. The product of European and Indian intermarriage, Anglo-Indians are more definitely urban in origin and habits than any other group in India, and, being identified with neither of the dominant races, they are subject to neglect by both. They belong typically to the lower commercial bourgeoisie. The Anglo-Indian girls, for the most part in humble circumstances, are particularly liable to exploitation. The YWCA has sought to improve their condition through its program of classes and recreation, and especially through its pleasant and well conducted hostels.

But the Anglo-Indian community is only a fraction of the population as a whole, and a major problem confronting the movement is that of addressing itself effectually to a larger constituency. The reticence and seclusion of Indian women has made it difficult in the past to develop a valuable program for Indian girls. Another reason may be found in the type of program offered; the highly institutionalized work of the Anglo-Saxon Associations has little obvious appeal for most Indian women and demands more of them in organizational activities than their abilities and interests warrant. The most impressive efforts to reach the Indian population thus far have been among the students all over the country but most notably in Madras, among the women of Travancore, and more recently, in the slum districts of the Bombay cotton mills.

LATIN AMERICA

Among the movements in Latin America, those in the South American countries are federated as a group through the so-

called Continental Committees. This arrangement, which obtains in both the YMCA and the YWCA, is unique in the Association world. Geographical position was no doubt an important factor in bringing about the situation, together with the marked similarity in major environmental problems and conditions with which the movements concerned find themselves confronted.

In the first place, the countries of South America resemble those of the entire hemisphere in that they belong to the "new world." They represent vast territories of enormous potential wealth, both in the fertility of the soil and in mineral resources, that still largely await development. They are countries of opportunity. They were colonized originally by Portuguese and Spanish pioneers and, in spite of the very heterogeneous immigration during the present century, are still fundamentally Latin in cultural affinities. The population is concentrated in a relatively few large and beautifully situated cities. Further centralization results from the circumstance that most of the national wealth is controlled by comparatively few families, aristocratic in tradition, and from the fact that an indigenous middle class is only now emerging. The commercial group is European and predominantly British. While very cordial business relations have obtained between South America and Great Britain, the same cannot be said with regard to South America and the United States. In fact, one of the major difficulties confronting the Christian Associations results from the prevalent fear of the "Colossus of the North"; they are frequently suspected of being in league with American "big business," and of representing the vanguard of "economic imperialism."

Another major problem arises from the religious situation. The dominant social group is Roman Catholic in tradition. While many, especially among the men and the younger generation, are liberal in their thinking or only nominal in their church allegiance, they are proudly nationalistic in their cultural, and likewise in their religious, self-expression. Moreover, their emotional and aesthetic temperament does not incline them to Protestantism. The difficulty of the Christian Associations, more especially of the YMCA, is increased by their past history. While

the interest of the two Foreign Divisions in South America has been more marked since the World War, the work had taken root before that time in a few centers, and had been identified with the Anglo-Saxon, Protestant community. Since the war, the emphasis has been on work with the indigenous population, with the result that neither Catholics nor Protestants are satisfied with the attempted official neutrality of the Christian Associations. They find themselves, accordingly, under suspicion and, in fact, definitely attacked on the score of both national and religious heritage and affiliation. No problem confronts either movement with greater urgency today than that of realizing the implications of this situation and of more clearly defining their purpose, scope and function.

The two continental federations comprise movements in Argentina, Brazil, Chile and Uruguay, while the YMCA includes also a movement in Peru. The function of the Continental Committees is primarily that of coordinating and strengthening the work in the several countries. The YWCA is still largely pre-occupied with the process of laying secure foundations; it is managed almost entirely, both in the Continental Committee and in the several movements, by North American personnel. The YMCA, being older and better established, is very largely indigenous in leadership, especially in the several countries, and has reached the stage of consolidation and enrichment of program. A major contribution of its Continental Committee has been the promotion of an extensive system of training schools, with headquarters in Montevideo. The movement in Mexico joined the South American YMCAs in this project, and has not only sent students to the senior school in Montevideo but established one of the junior units in Mexico City. The latter, however, was recently closed when, for financial and other reasons, the whole continental project had to be drastically curtailed. From the point of view of idealistic achievement, the outstanding contribution of the continental YMCAs is the international summer camp at Piriapolis, Uruguay, where students and boys from all parts of South America gather for conferences or regular camping programs. Staff "retreats" are also frequently held on the

grounds. The site has indeed come to be regarded as the place where the several movements receive their best inspiration and spiritual drive.

Argentina

The Argentine movements are among the oldest and strongest on the continent. The YMCA was founded in Buenos Aires in 1901, and the YWCA in 1890. Both have received hitherto most of their public support from the British and North American communities, with which they were chiefly identified before the war. While large proportions of the annual contribution income are still secured from these groups, the feeling is apparently growing among them that if the work is to be for the indigenous population it should be financed by them. This constitutes a serious difficulty on account of the very small Argentine middle class, and the impossibility of interesting the wealthy group. While this problem was found to be most articulate in Buenos Aires where particular attention has been given to methods of income production, the same conditions are indicated in the other great cities of the continent.

By far the most extensive and important program emphasis of the YMCA has been in the field of physical education. While it is popularly conceded that the Association pioneered the work brilliantly, serious competition has been developing recently. The magnificent athletic club, the Club Nacional Gimnasia y Esgrima, is the most formidable example of the indigenous organizations that are now promoting physical activities on a scale on which the YMCA cannot expect to compete, especially since they are unhampered by the difficult international and interconfessional affiliations of the Association. The YMCA of Buenos Aires has also emphasized boys work, both in the building and for the neglected children in the outlying districts. The religious and educational programs are not extensive and consist largely of cultural and musical entertainments. The regular Sunday lectures, however, are especially noteworthy and have proved attractive to social groups of distinction in the community. The environmental difficulties with which all South American movements have to contend are suggested by the fact that the

strong YMCA of Argentina was not able to enter a second city, that of Rosario, until after it had been promoted in Buenos Aires for nearly thirty years.

The YWCA, in its early history, confined itself largely to operating a boarding house for business girls. Since the war, educational classes in business subjects have been featured and service activities have been promoted, such as travelers' aid and an employment bureau. There has likewise been an attempt to develop physical education. The Association has been hampered, however, by two main considerations. First, it has suffered from inadequate equipment and accommodation, and secondly, it has not been able to present its cause attractively to the women of Buenos Aires. The latter, as is generally the case in Latin America, are beginning to interest themselves in responsibilities outside their homes and are especially interested in welfare problems. So far it has not been possible, however, to enlist their enthusiasm for social service in behalf of the YWCA.

Brazil

The YMCA of Brazil is the oldest on the continent, having been founded in 1896. It is, moreover, the only one that has a national organization. The constituent local Associations are in Rio de Janeiro, Porto Alegre and Sao Paulo, while a fourth (in Recife) has been abandoned for financial reasons. The Brazilian movement has distinguished itself in two fields: physical and general education. With respect to the latter it is doing more than any other South American Association. The Rio center has developed a complete course in secondary education, following the government school program, and there is also good educational work at Porto Alegre. The Rio library is above the rather poor standard set by the movements in the Latin American area. The most extensive and popular aspect of the program is, nevertheless, that of physical activities. A recent example of the influence exerted by the YMCA in the related field of community health education was the energetic attack on a yellow fever epidemic, a few years ago, carried out by the Rio authorities at the instigation and with the cooperation of the local YMCA. A

beginning has been made in this city toward the development of boys work.

The YWCA of Brazil exists so far only in Rio de Janeiro, where it was organized in 1920. Its brief history has been one of great difficulty and discouragement. In addition to financial limitations there has been a demoralizing rate of turnover in the North American personnel and as yet the movement cannot be said to be in any sense fully on its feet. The program has consisted mainly of educational classes in business subjects and of physical activities on a small scale. The most successful enterprise, perhaps, is the attractive little cafeteria, designed largely for business girls but patronized also by a number of leading citizens, both men and women.

Chile

There are three YMCAs in Chile, situated in Valparaiso, Santiago and Concepcion, but there is no national organization and only the first center may be regarded as in a healthy condition. The work in Santiago and Concepcion is struggling to maintain itself against financial odds and the consequences of grave errors in administration. The YMCA in Valparaiso is unusual among the Associations of South America. Its strength lies in its program, the distinctive element of which is the maintenance of work for the less privileged members of the community parallel with the program for those using the central equipment. There is an emphasis on social service as a means of character building and an effort to relate the two fields of the Association through this emphasis. The equipment is relatively small and unpretentious. The weakness of the undertaking—and it is a serious one—lies in the fact that, unlike the usual condition in this area, the work rests almost entirely on the shoulders of one man, and he a North American.

The YWCA was established in Valparaiso and Santiago in 1920, but has suffered considerably from unstable staff conditions. The work in the former city is the more stable and, small and struggling as it is, there is something particularly satisfactory about its evident vitality. The program in both centers

emphasizes chiefly business classes and physical activities, but some attempt is made to carry out social service projects of various kinds. Political unrest in Chile has added to the general problem of interesting the dominant social group. This is particularly unfortunate for the YWCA, since the Chilean women are, as a group, perhaps the most progressive in South America and the most interested in welfare undertakings. There are only two schools of social work in South America and both are in Chile, where a third is projected.

Peru

The YMCA of Lima, Peru, is still in the early stages of its development. It was started in 1920 with a program consisting chiefly of physical activities, but no formal organization was arrived at until eight years later. This long period of preparation was made necessary by the particularly difficult environmental conditions, and has resulted in a remarkable spirit within the Association. As a vice-regal center of the overseas Spanish Empire, the city of Lima originally attracted more of the exclusive aristocracy of the mother country than did other centers in South America. The tradition of conservatism and even repression was thus established from the beginning, and Peru today is still one of the most unprogressive of the great republics of South America. This spirit has characterized both church and state and obviously has caused trouble to a liberalizing agency such as the YMCA.

The Association is housed in small rented quarters but is distinguished among the South American movements for the vitality of its spirit. There is a strong bond of fellowship, almost a family feeling, among the 245 members, while to an extraordinary degree the extension work of the organization is made possible by the devotion of the leaders' corps. This latter group has set itself unusually high standards of character attainment as well as of physical efficiency, and assists in carrying out programs in athletics and health education in the various institutions of Lima. The Association further promotes a noteworthy lecture

series on religious topics, and attempts a little in the way of social service.

Uruguay

The relatively small country of Uruguay, situated between the great republics of Brazil, Argentina and Paraguay, plays in South America somewhat the rôle played by Switzerland in Europe. It is one of the most progressive in social legislation and most active with respect to public works. It is also the headquarters of the international activities of the continental YMCAs—the training school and the camp at Piriapolis.

The Christian Associations of Montevideo are in as flourishing and sound a condition as any in South America. The program of the YMCA is typical of the more established centers in this area: very strong in physical education and rather weak in religious activities and general education. It is, however, particularly noteworthy for its boys work. By means of a system of self-governing clubs, organized into representative councils, this enterprise stands for one of the few successful efforts of the YMCA in Latin America to develop really democratic processes of thinking and planning in its membership. This Association has furthermore benefited from the fact that the headquarters of the continental training school are in Montevideo, making possible the recruiting of an unusual number of desirable volunteer and part-time assistants from the student body.

The YWCA of Montevideo is in a healthier state than any of its sister organizations in this area. The program lays particular stress on educational classes and physical activities, but includes also the management of a small orphan asylum as a project in social service. Both Christian Associations are identified with the more well-to-do classes of society, so far as their general membership and board leadership are concerned.

Cuba

There is only one Christian Association in Cuba, namely the YMCA of Havana, which was founded in 1905. It has developed the regular four-fold program, with especial emphasis on physical education, and has been in the past reasonably successful.

At the present time, however, it is in serious trouble. While mistakes in management account to some extent for this condition, the chief trouble is competition by the big social clubs. The building and equipment are not only old-fashioned and in poor repair but they suffer very much by comparison with the magnificent clubs that have been developed recently in Havana. These undertakings, of which the Club Asturias is the most outstanding example, have superb equipment and nominal entrance fees. They promote physical and social activities on a considerable scale, offering free medical service and health examinations. They set material standards with which the YMCA can never hope to compete, especially since it has never been able to secure the interest of the wealthy Cuban families.

The YMCA has done well with its boys work program and has even considered making this central in its activities. It has also tried, in the absence of any YWCA, to do work for women and girls. Representatives of the American movement, at the repeated call of the YMCA, have recently made careful studies of the situation with the result that the 1930 biennial convention actually voted to enter the field. Financial considerations have, however, necessarily delayed carrying out this decision.

Mexico

The temper of the existing Mexican government is that of social reform, with particular attention to the field of education. By way of illustrating the quality and seriousness of this spirit, attention may be called to the policy adopted of combating the illiteracy of the large Indian population, by means of rural schools conducted in accord with modern principles, as a first step in the necessary assimilation of this group and its ancient traditions. The same general attitude is shown in the open resistance of the state to the Roman Catholic Church. Many of the country's leaders in the field of public service are characterized by a veritable social passion.

The YMCA of Mexico was started by the Home Division of the North American movements, but was taken over in 1908 by the Foreign Division. It has local Associations in Mexico City,

Chihuahua, and Monterrey, which are federated in a national organization. The latter two centers are in very serious financial straits, however, if not virtually closed down, so that the movement practically consists of the strong metropolitan center in Mexico City. This Association has been able to arouse the interest of some of the country's leading citizens and to secure some financial assistance from the government. The program is confined almost exclusively to physical activities and health education, and it is popularly conceded to have made a real contribution in this field to the life of the nation.

The YWCA was established in 1920, but has suffered to some extent from material limitations and difficulties in leadership. Both problems appear to be nearing solution at the present time. The Association has stressed educational classes more than the YMCA, but has not made the same progress with its physical work. The Mexican YWCA resembles its sister organizations, especially in Argentina and Chile, in that it has not been able to make common cause with the very able Latin American women who have developed a marked interest in social problems.

PART TWO

CHAPTER VII

THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATIONS

PROBABLY no question has been raised more often in the course of the survey than this: What *is* the YMCA, and what *is* the YWCA? In other words, what, if anything, can be written down as definitive of the Christian Associations that differentiates them from other organizations and institutions? Many Association secretaries have raised this question. In a sense the search for an answer to it has been the chief preoccupation of the survey staff. To be sure, the question seems unreal to some students of institutional behavior. These think that organizations such as the Christian Associations are sufficiently defined by their behavior and that to seek some *ethos* or special genius in them is unrealistic and gratuitous. From this point of view it is sufficient in comparing different organizations to list their activities in the aggregate and to define the individual organization by reference to those things which it attempts to do. But the point of view taken in this report is that the origin and history, the self-conscious purpose and "mission" of the Christian Associations are themselves factors of primary importance in the determination of their program and that the question of the relation between a particular program activity and these less ponderable factors in the organization's life is of primary concern in evaluating that activity. It is true that an organization or institution tends to define itself by what it does, but to consider objective behavior without reference to spirit and conscious motive leaves us without an adequate understanding of the organization as an intentional, continuing force in community life. It may be granted that whatever concept we have of its spirit and motive must be abstracted from observations of its behavior, but the differentia of the organization stated in terms of such be-

havior indicate potentialities and limitations from which a useful concept of its "nature" may be formed. This point of view influences all that will be said here about Association philosophy.

Such a position, however, requires that we consider at the outset the way in which the "nature" of an institution influences its objective behavior and is in turn modified by it. In the Christian Associations the question is already posed for us, especially by leaders of the YMCA, who are asking what effect the YMCA as an "institution" is having upon the YMCA as a "movement." The question is a real and a significant one. It is also a question that is inevitably perennial because of the nature of all human "movements." Any collective undertaking, if it is more than a brief gesture, tends to institutionalize itself. That is to say, it tends to realize itself in structure, to build itself into the external order of things. Only so can it maintain itself. The prophets of a movement become the "staff" of an institution. Its "message" elaborates itself into a "program." Voluntary effort is in time transformed into professional service. The original freedom of the movement gives place to established "policy" which a "constituency" is willing to support. All this should be obvious, and the important point here is that the description of this transition should not be regarded as an obituary of the movement or an indictment of its leadership. The transition is in accord with a "law" of life. The world about us everywhere presents two aspects—a dynamic aspect and a structural aspect. Dynamic without structure is as futile as a volcano. Structure without dynamic is as futile as a burnt-out satellite. A movement is related to an institution much as the mind is related to the body. The validity of the movement is measured not by its ability to dispense with institutional features but by its power to command them, to change them and at times, when they are outworn, to slough them off.

To recognize this two-fold aspect of organizational life is therefore to propound a problem which every movement is obliged to face. For a healthy existence and continued social utility depend upon the maintenance of an appropriate relationship between the vital, "movement" aspects and the structural,

institutional aspects. The danger is that one may encroach upon the other or both may be weak and inadequate; it rarely happens that both are impressively strong. The Associations have been criticized in the course of this survey both for an excess of institutionalism and for an inadequate economic base. In general, the historic tendency of an organization is toward a lessening of vitality as a movement and an increase of program stereotypes. In other words, a movement may be said to have a characteristic life history in which "arterio-sclerosis" only too commonly develops. To guard against this an organization, unless it is content to decrease as a movement, must make provision for renewal in the light of a continuing, though developing, purpose and aim. It must be able, if need be, to effect a "mutation," changing its external objectives, abandoning its stereotypes and developing new methods and projects. This very capacity for self-regeneration makes all the more important a regard for the essential nature of the organization itself in order that new forms of expression and new types of activity may be chosen with reference to what is indispensable to the continuity of the organization and to the preservation of its dynamic quality. A healthy organization will undergo continual modification as to its capacities and its genius, but this process is a slow one and has definite limitations. An attempt at adaptation to environmental change which involves a break in the continuity of its own life is bound to be disastrous.

To a considerable degree the Associations have undergone such a continual changing in their adaptation to a changing social environment. The chapter sketching their history as world movements has made clear the fact that in their origin they had both a religious and a social motivation. But in the course of time a diversification has taken place, by geographic and religious areas, in respect to the character of the movements. In the countries of Europe where the Lutheran and Reformed traditions prevail in the Protestant community, the movements tend to be regarded, and to regard themselves, as primarily evangelical. That is to say, the older movements, built with the support of European Protestantism, maintain conspicuously their evangelistic motiva-

tion and patterns of work. On the other hand, the movements which have drawn their sustenance chiefly or largely from North America are regarded as mainly social and educational, although, of course, maintaining a religious interest. The transformation in the aims and emphases of the North American movements has come about gradually and might, therefore, without reference to their history, pass unnoticed. But the extent of the change is apparent when an American visits a typical center of the Christlicher Verein Junger Männer in Germany, a branch of the German movement which was inspired from America when the evangelical motive was still strong in the American YMCA. The German movement has, furthermore, a definitely theological interest and is in this respect hardly distinguishable from a church body. The North American movements stand in impressive contrast to the *Verein* movements in this respect, and the Associations which the former have launched abroad present a still sharper contrast.

This shift from an older type of religion to a more social and educational form reflects the influence of two factors, one external, the other internal. The first is the very great difficulty which the Associations experience in carrying on any form of religious work in countries where a Protestant *milieu* is not present—for example, Poland, Italy, and the countries of Latin America. The second is the gradual change of emphasis in American religious life itself which has resulted in a vastly greater stress upon social problems and social aims. This tendency has become so conspicuous that it has acquired almost the proportions of a movement. It has an ideology which is designated by the term "social gospel" or the "gospel of the Kingdom." To be sure, this tendency is by no means universally approved in America: in fact, probably its severest critics are not Europeans, but Americans. On its left is the movement known as humanism (in its religious, as distinguished from its literary, aspect), while on its right is a still sturdy evangelism on the order of Kagawa's in Japan which draws heavily upon the social teachings of the prophets of Israel and of Jesus. In large sections of America and by at least a minority in almost all churches and all denomina-

F. tions, the "social gospel" is looked upon with suspicion. The tendency of European critics to characterize it as "Americanism" is therefore not altogether appropriate, although it is true that as a religious trend it finds its most striking manifestation in America. The important point to be made here is that the Christian Associations in North America, especially in the northern part of the United States, have in recent years leaned far toward what may be called the social wing of American Christianity and all the work abroad to which they have contributed money and personnel reflects the same tendency. This is much more marked in the case of the YWCA in the United States, particularly the national organization, than of the YMCA. The tendency is not so marked in the Canadian YWCA. Undoubtedly, this socialization of religious theory has given powerful reenforcement to Association work in non-Christian and non-Protestant countries where, but for the justification which it gives to activities that fall short of being religious in any traditional or technical sense, the limitations upon the Associations' program would have resulted in their discontinuance. Confronted by such limitations, many leaders of the older movements would have "gone home" and such leaders often feel that the American movements by accommodating themselves to their non-Protestant environment have made a fatal compromise. Other representatives of the older movements feel less strongly on the subject, but, by and large, it is probably not too much to say that they all look apprehensively and critically upon the religious trend in America and in the American-inspired Christian Associations.

The conflict over this social trend, which the Germans are fond of calling "*Activismus*," is sharpened at the present time by the rapidly increasing influence in Europe of the Barthian movement—the "theology of crisis" of which Karl Barth is the principal exponent. This movement deprecates the modern emphasis upon the efficacy of human instrumentality—the idea that "we must build up the Kingdom of God," and stresses the ultimate complete dependence of man upon the divine will. It is strongly and broadly social in its emphasis—many of its leaders are socialists. But they think of social regeneration in relation to a situa-

tion conceived as non-plastic. In this view, society is regenerated not through any of man's devices but by the intervention of supernatural power. As the biblical scholar would say, it is "apocalyptic" rather than "prophetic" in its emphasis.

This theological trend is patently related to, if not a part of, the post-war reaction. Populations which suffered keenly from the war and saw little resulting from it for the realization of national hopes naturally have become disillusioned with respect to man's devices and have been, like Israel in captivity, thrown back heavily upon the supernatural. As one goes about Europe he is strongly impressed with the similarity between the psychology of the Christian community and that of the Exile period in Jewish history.

It is of the utmost importance for future relationships between the movements that the American idea should be understood abroad. The tendency among leaders of the older movements is to regard it not merely with apprehension, sometimes with superciliousness, as a mere preoccupation with "things"—that is, precisely, as an illustration of what was said above about the submergence of movement in an institution. That the North American Associations and their fellow organizations abroad have incurred this risk and have often suffered in consequence is not to be denied. But the social emphasis which the Christian Associations in North America share with their environing religious movements means much more than this. The vast literature that has grown up around the theme of the social gospel and Christian social ethics reflects much more than a preoccupation with "things." It embodies a vigorous social faith, the outgrowth of a conviction that the redemption of society is a fundamental part of the church's task—that the social structure, no less than the individual life, is the object of Christian redemption, indeed, that the interrelations of the two demand it. The interest in the social gospel as manifested in many of our American churches and in our Christian Associations reflects a conviction that only through serious grappling with the social structure can the individual be effectively reached and regenerated. The complexity of modern life makes the attainment of

character an extraordinarily difficult process. The "old fashioned" virtues have not lost their significance but they cannot be attained merely by individual discipline. Honesty, for example, to be significant as a virtue today must be attained not only individually but corporately. A veritable saint in private life may at the same time be an exploiter in industry or, which is quite as serious, may find himself completely helpless from the ethical point of view in a situation over which, because of competition or exploitation, he has no individual control. The simple and homely virtues of our forebears have been smothered in the bewildering complex of relationships in an industrial age, and the more heroic and prophetic spirits in the religious community are devoting themselves to social regeneration in order that the individual, who must always be central in a Christian philosophy, may be rediscovered and redeemed.

With all the adjustments that have been made to new situations and new trends of thought, the Christian Associations operating under American influence retain no insignificant religious motivation and, in the light of what has been said about the new social elements in their theory, their method should not be regarded as an essential departure from their religious purpose, but as a development and extension to a new and highly complex situation. It is quite clear that traditional terms are no longer adequate to express the developing outlook and purpose. The foreign work in its inception was a part of the missionary outreach of American Christianity and the purpose of the Associations was then adequately described as the leading of men and boys, women and girls, to Christ. Few would contend that these words in their original intent give an adequate description of the present purpose of the movements. The Associations are definitely seeking today to lead men and boys, women and girls, to a Christian way of life and in that sense their essential purposes are as truly Christian as at the beginning. But it has come to be recognized that the North American Associations and those drawing their inspiration and sustenance from them have become distinctly less interested, in recent years, in what may be called the theological aspects of the Christian message and of the mis-

sionary effort. The non-expertness and lack of interest of American YMCA secretaries in all matters of theology and in ecclesiastical questions, is a subject of frequent comment and concern among Association leaders in the older movements. To them it appears a weakness. To the American leaders it seems an element of strength. The American movements have definitely attempted to distinguish the function of what they call character building from that of religious work in the formal and technical sense. This is not to say that the latter is of only incidental importance. The most influential leaders of the two Associations the world over insist on the primary importance of the religious life and on the discipleship of Jesus as a central consideration in the development of Christian character, but the more formal religious element in the process is not treated as a distinctive feature of the Associations' work; that is rather regarded as the task of the churches. This point was brought out forcibly in a conversation between a member of the survey staff and leaders of the Christlicher Verein Junger Männer in Germany. They stated the purpose of their Associations in strictly evangelical terms: to lead men to Christ. When asked what, then, the difference in function was between the Christian Associations and the churches, they said, "We *are* the church, engaged in a type of work which the church itself has neglected." No one who has not a thesis to prove could deny that such a statement of purpose is quite inaccurate as a characterization of the North American movements and those which they are helping to carry on abroad.

More will be said on this subject in the chapter on "The Interreligious Problem." The important point to be made here is that the wide-spread tendency to regard the American Associations as essentially different from—if not fundamentally opposed to—the older Associations in spirit and in method is an error resulting from a confusion of *emphasis* with *essence*. When this is understood the way is open for frank recognition that the criticism of "Americanism" on the part of European leaders and of the trend in the American churches and Christian Associations is not without validity and should have a corrective influence. Those are not wanting in America who, while having

full sympathy with the social gospel and its major drives, feel that it has suffered from preoccupation with mass interests and concerns and is weak on techniques for dealing with the individual. There are signs in America of a recovery of emphasis upon the individual and his religious needs and in this respect a closer contact between the older Associations of Europe and those of North America should be mutually fruitful. Such contacts this survey, as has already appeared, has endeavored to promote on the theory that the Associations are essentially world movements. In the view taken in this report both the older and the newer movements have much to gain from a cross-fertilization. The influences to which the social trend in the newer movements—which developed first in America—is an adaptation are world-wide, and progress is not to be attained by entrenchment against this trend. Of this, too, more will be said later.

But whatever view may be taken of the religious philosophy of the Associations of the newer type, the assumptions underlying their character-building programs call for reexamination. In this respect they have much in common with the older movements since all, in common, place stress upon character building through activities. But the North American Associations, because they have placed so much dependence upon a many-sided activities program, have most at stake in the assumptions underlying it. In a word those assumptions seem to be: (1) that personality is four-fold—physical, intellectual, spiritual and social, and (2) that a well-rounded character may be developed by a program of activities corresponding to these phases of personality.

An elaborate study of this subject, known as the Character Education Inquiry, has been made recently under the auspices of the Institute of Social and Religious Research. An astonishingly large part of the findings are of a negative sort showing that many of the assumptions underlying traditional efforts at moral education under religious auspices are gratuitous. Sunday school lessons and programs have had little discoverable effect upon character as judged by specific reactions. This is due apparently to the fact, also brought out in the study, that, broadly

speaking, character training must itself be specific; that character does not consist of certain general attitudes and tendencies readily transferable to some specific type of attitude or activity, but that it provides one, at most, with a set of tendencies and behavior standards which have to be developed specifically with reference to particular situations.

What does this mean for the programs of the Christian Associations? The first thing to be said is that the Associations fare better under such critical examinations than the churches for the reason that the Associations have depended so much more on specific activities and projects than have the church schools. In fact, on the face of it, this general finding with reference to character education gives a considerable measure of support to the typical YMCA four-fold program, for it must be said for the Associations that they have attacked these various elements of their problem in specific ways. They have not depended on moral precepts, but have undertaken to create situations in which moral judgments had to be made and habit patterns formed. They have also built largely upon elemental interests. They have, as has been pointed out earlier, conformed their programs to an appreciable degree to the discoveries of educational science with reference to the value of group activities in club and camp work. In fact, modern education has considerably advanced the stock of the Associations by emphasizing such associated activities as those of the summer camp, for the conduct of which the Associations are particularly well equipped.

Yet it is doubtful if the chief contribution of the Associations in the field of character education is to be found in their activities program. Definite as the Character Education Inquiry's findings are as to the "specificity" of character training, they do not reduce character to a mere inventory of behavior patterns. To say that character training must be specific is not the same thing as saying that character itself is no more than a collection of specific reactions. It has something to do with capacity for self-organization about sustained purposes. To be the kind of person who can be counted on to react in a given situation in such a way as to conserve recognized values and to further recognized

ends means something quite apart from all the particular learned behavior patterns that one might enumerate. Probably the chief distinctive contribution of the Associations in the way of character development has been made through the influence of the secretaries. More specifically stated, what they have accomplished has been done through the maintenance of opportunities for fellowship under the influence and inspiration of a leader who is considered to embody, however imperfectly, the Association ideal of a Christian personality. Recent studies of personality, and particularly clinical studies in personality problems, have led to the emergence of an ideal recognized by psychiatrists, social workers, teachers and religious leaders, which is commonly called "integration." Of the process by which this integration takes place we know as yet comparatively little. But the strength of all religious and character-education programs seems to lie chiefly in their ability to inspire and to help individuals to build a personality ideal which tends to be governing in specific situations. In other words, however little there may be in what the educators call "transfer of training"—a concept that was, so far as any necessary general application of it is concerned, outmoded years ago when the "faculty" theory of psychology was discarded—there seems to be a definite deposit from experience, particularly group experience, in which personal influence has been a major factor. The old-fashioned justification of the untrained Sunday school teacher who by means of a "consecrated personality" influenced boys and girls in a permanent way, is not wholly fallacious. The present-day distrust of religious and moral training based upon exposure to "consecrated personalities" does not imply relegation of such influence as an essential element in training, but rather a recognition that without specific activities, involving judgments and the development of behavior that are in accord with a character ideal, the influence is transitory and ineffectual.

What is here suggested is that, by and large, the chief distinctive contribution of the Christian Associations to the lives of young men and young women has been in the guidance offered by leaders who in themselves embody the "Association idea." This

contribution is supplemented and reenforced by the adaptation of their program to natural interests, the constructive use of the group idea, and the development of activities sufficiently specific to give substance to training efforts.

It will be clear from the above that character is being considered under two aspects. Fundamentally it may be defined as capacity for ordering one's life in accord with sustained, self-chosen purposes. In this sense character has a potential rather than an actual, objective moral quality. A person may have what is termed a strong character, yet be thoroughly anti-social in his behavior. Whether or not we can by educational processes give a person that basic asset no one can say with assurance. But there is abundant reason to think that character strength is increased by association with strong characters under conditions that favor guidance. The Christian Associations have furnished their share of testimony in this direction. The other aspect of character has to do with the quality of characteristic behavior. This is what we have in mind, of course, when we speak of a "Christian" character.

The "essence" of the Associations finds expression in their attempt to develop personality in line with Christian character ideals which the secretaries endeavor to approximate in their own lives. It is this that gives reality to the "brotherhood" as the secretaries fondly call the YMCA. The distinguishing mark of the Association secretary is his or her relationship to men and boys, women and girls, as in some sense an exemplar, an embodiment of Christian character. Where the Associations are at their best there is a tendency for men and boys, women and girls, to point to the secretary as all-in-all the kind of person they would like to be. Where this is not true there is an essential failure in Association purpose and achievement. For, after all, the imponderable thing that we call Christian character depends upon holding before oneself an ideal of behavior, rationally derived, which leads one in a crucial situation to react definitely and positively because something within him says—"This is the kind of thing a Christian gentleman does." The *content* of this concept, of course, varies with the social environment.

But to record such a judgment suggests at once another that qualifies it. In the nature of the case, the strength of the Association becomes its weakness and the strength of the secretary becomes his or her weakness. The character ideal is a deposit of social experience and therefore has in it more or less of the local, the conventional, the ephemeral. An ideal held by an organization that has extensive institutional features and gives hostages, so to speak, to the established social order, tends to be conventionalized. The Association secretary is likely to be a "standard" product of the Christian community that he represents. If he maintains exceptionally liberal views with reference to Christian ethics, if he is preoccupied with the prophetic elements of Christianity, he is likely to fail in the particular which is institutionally most important—namely, the creation of a constituency. It is a matter of common remark that the YMCA has not been a fruitful soil for the growth of prophetic spirits. In general this is probably much less true of the foreign service than of the Association as a whole. The YWCA adheres much less closely to conventional ideals and has given larger scope to Christian prophetic idealism. Oddly enough, one is much less impressed in the Association work abroad with the contrast between the social ideals contended for by the two Associations than in this country where the YMCA is reputed to be much more conservative than the YWCA.

Attention has already been called to a change in the approach to character training in the program of the Associations which is in line with newer tendencies in education. This refers chiefly to the lessened emphasis in all education upon departmental divisions and increased emphasis upon *association* in a more inclusive social experience. It has been pointed out that the change in emphasis is reflected in Association programs chiefly in the stress now coming to be put upon club work and camp work. It has also been explained that there are in general two types of clubs, commonly referred to as four-fold, or character-building clubs, and special-interest clubs. In general, the former club is the type which embodies the newer educational theory. The special-interest club is more in line with the older departmental idea. It

will be apparent, however, from what has been said above that under both theories dependence has always been placed, so far as character building is concerned, more upon the influence of leaders than upon the specific type of activity. This, too, is in accord with what we know of the educational process. The specific activity is of less intrinsic importance than the continuing purpose of the group as a whole. This is why the special-interest club is a less satisfactory type of group work in the long run. It tends to rest upon the concern of the members of a particular group to become proficient in photography or sewing, for example, rather than upon a more inclusive and permanent interest of the group, reflecting an essential like-mindedness. The first great task of the Associations here surveyed is to develop national leadership as the embodiment of their ideals, and the second is to attain a more intelligent coordination of activities with reference to character ends that are definitely recognized by the groups as desirable.

The departmental organization which still obtains in the Associations, both in America and abroad, is hard to reconcile with the group approach to character training which we have just considered. It cuts across the four-fold club idea because it puts a premium on the classification and isolation of membership into separate divisions. The fact that the Associations are service centers as well as educational fellowships seems to make this inevitable. Manifestly a highly diversified program demands administrative specialization. The physical work, for example, must be administered as a separate department because of the technical requirements in staff and equipment. But have the Associations found a way to make the physical program contribute definitely to the development of character *among the whole membership*? It is easy to use the departmental principle in such a way as to frustrate completely the avowed purpose of a manifold program. For the "department" is not akin to that of a university graduate school which draws its own members and makes specialists of them. The Association theory requires that its many-sided ministry be available to the entire membership. Otherwise it is meaningless as a character-building program.

It would of course be absurd to suggest that the enrollments in all departments should be identical, for the Associations have functions aside from those performed for the membership as a whole. But if the character-building program is valid as the Associations conceive it the individual members—all of them—should be beneficiaries of the many-sided approach.

The physical education department needs especial scrutiny from this point of view. Volumes have been written on the character values of physical training and many eloquent defences of the elaborate YMCA program have been offered. It would seem to go without argument that in the field of organized sport, by substituting group competition for individual competition and by teaching "good sportsmanship," the Associations have made a definite contribution to character. But in the case of the YMCA this has been accomplished very largely by attracting groups of young men and boys who are not appealed to by any other phase of the program and with whom the physical activities are mainly a recreation. There is no question of the validity of recreational activities as a part of the Associations' program but if there is any significance in the four-fold ideal, each phase of the program should fit into a whole and have some definite relationship to the other phases. It is a common belief in the YMCA that the prestige it has gained—amounting in some countries to premier leadership—in the field of physical education has been accomplished by a studied departure from the older discipline of physical culture with its setting-up exercises and calisthenic drill, and by an invasion of the field of group sports. What, then, becomes of the widely proclaimed theory that the physical education work is basic in the character program and that the entire four-fold program rests upon physical education as a base? On this theory, the participants in other program features, if they are untouched by the physical education program or some equivalent discipline, must fail in achieving the superstructure of character building. It would seem that at no point is the need of a critical reexamination of theory on the part of the Christian Associations more evident than in respect to the philosophy of physical education.

It should not be inferred from this that the Christian Associations are alone in failing to develop an adequate philosophy for their physical work. The fact is that here again the data are not at hand for a scientific answer to the question, "What is the significance of physical education with reference to character?" But it would scarcely seem to require extended argument to show that the perfection of one's physical life, the attainment of nervous and muscular coordination, the acquiring of a rational regimen of living which makes it possible for one to be at his physical best every day in the week and throughout all the working hours of the day, is basic to superior achievement in any realm of activity and that the release of moral and spiritual energies must in large measure be conditioned by such attainment. On the basis of the evidence at hand, it would seem a warranted assumption that there is some correlation between the healthy development of the body as a psychophysical organism and what we call the higher values of life; it is a fair question if the YMCA, in its enthusiasm for an extensive and popular arrangement of its program, has not overlooked the task of laying the physical basis for character building among the whole group of its members. This challenge becomes all the more striking when it is observed that in a country where physical education is less popular, as in China, the YMCA physical program tends to be reduced to negligible proportions. It should be said that the YWCA has gone farther toward realizing the full implications of the physical program than has the YMCA.

This consideration raises again the question of the relation of program features to program purpose. As pointed out above, it is well understood that the psychological values of a process are not exclusively dependent upon the content of the experience. Certain individual and social values seem to accrue equally from activities that are widely different. Broadly speaking, if an activity is directed toward a socially useful end and within the scope of individual interest and experience, it can be given a value from the point of view of moral education. For this reason the wholesale criticism of the Associations, as of socially adapted churches, that they attempt too many things, is only

partially valid. No type of activity is to be condemned in itself so long as it pursues a useful end and so long as there is a socially valid reason why the organization in question should undertake it. Relief work, for example, which under ordinary circumstances a Christian Association would never think of undertaking and for which it has inadequate technical equipment, might in an emergency situation be fully justified from both a social and an educational point of view. Some amusement has been expressed over YMCA projects in poultry raising, yet in a given situation where poultry raising is a most important life-sustaining process and the acquisition of a technique for it a major social concern, the YMCA may consistently throw itself into that activity without any strain upon its organizational philosophy, and, indeed, such activity promotes its healthy growth. But the particular activity must be undertaken and carried out in such a way as to conserve the larger social values that are implicit in the performance and to capitalize this purposeful activity for the development of those personal values which are the chief concern of the Christian Associations.

This brings us to the heart of the question raised in the survey report on the India YMCA. It is there contended that the YMCA needs to specialize upon an outstanding social and ethical need of India which the staff believes to be "reconciliation," with particular reference to intercommunal conflict—*i.e.*, Hindu vs. Moslem. The first reaction to this suggestion has been one of surprise and disagreement. Why, it is asked, should the YMCA, which has a specialized purpose, namely, developing Christian character, devote itself to a particular end which would seem to have a social rather than an individual reference and to be remote from the defined purposes of the organization? But this is just the heart of the matter. The development of character is a process that never takes place in a vacuum. Character is, so to speak, a by-product of purposeful activity and any useful activity which is directed at so worthwhile an end as to challenge the imagination and incite to a moral adventure commanding great personal loyalty and devotion, may serve as the means of character building. In order to command that measure of de-

votion and to appeal to the creative imagination, an activity must be directed to some preeminently worthwhile end. Consequently the Associations should explore their fields for the most needed services before they determine their program. Criticism of the variety of the Associations' present programs is legitimate only when it is aimed at some actual inadequacy that results from a diffusion of attention and a dissipation of resources. Probably there is little or nothing that the Associations have done which could not be fully justified on valid Association theory, under given circumstances.

The danger is, of course, that preoccupation with activities as services and also as income-production features may lead to a complete eclipse of the essential relation that all of these features should have to the character-building program. Only too often is this the case. A member of the staff of one of the movements recently said about the work:

We follow the line of least resistance. It is easier to be shallow than deep. . . . We often undertake work for the sake of propaganda in order to win the support of the community and to do things in a spectacular fashion. We want numbers. We want a good showing in statistics. Before we have done one thing well, we start to do something else. In the mind of many people, the Association is a bath house, a billiard room, a dormitory, a barber shop, a restaurant, a reading room or all of these things combined.¹

Quite so. It is no disparagement of an Association to say that it has worked out certain "veins" in its service to the nation and that it should be in the position of seeking new projects worthy of its effort. A living organization should be constantly "working itself out of a job" so far as its concrete programs are concerned. But is not such a predicament as is here described by an Association secretary a commentary upon the excessive opportunism of an Association program? What is lacking is an organizing principle that would give continuity to the program as an expression of the life of the fellowship itself.

¹ This is, of course, a spontaneous criticism given during a rapid-fire discussion and is not to be taken as an adequate characterization of the work in question.

Sharp discrimination is necessary on the part of Association leaders in the judgment of projects which the Associations are asked to undertake. The consideration of consistency with organization philosophy is not the only one that must be raised. There are many things that it might be thoroughly proper for the Associations to do so far as their purpose and spirit are concerned that are quite outside the range of their capacities. Take, for example, the question discussed elsewhere in this report, and at length in the area report on Latin America, that of the Instituto Tecnico—the YMCA training centers in Latin America. Here is a situation where many influential nationals have asked the YMCA to consider an extraordinary proposal in the widening of its field of activity. Finding itself in possession of plant and equipment for training quite in excess of any present or predictable demands for the training of Association personnel, the YMCA is asked to consider a gradual transformation of the Instituto Tecnico into a school of social education or perhaps eventually a school of social work. In accord with the principle above set forth the mere fact that this would be a secular enterprise and without precedent in the Association's experience does not invalidate it as an Association venture. The question inevitably arises, however, whether the YMCA has any particular genius for the operation of a school of social work, since this requires an extensive knowledge of social science techniques. Broadly speaking, the experience of the Associations seems to indicate that in the social field their genius is what might be called prevocational rather than vocational, that they are excellent agencies for social exploration, that they can do admirable service in launching social enterprises, but that they lack the specialization requisite to permanent administration of projects in a specialized field. And this, if the position above set forth is correct, is to be said not in derogation of the Associations, but in illustration of their true genius and function. Broadly speaking, in the Christian Associations the "generalist," if we may coin a term, is more important than the "specialist." When the techniques of departmental service become a major preoccu-

pation, the Associations are straying from the path of most fruitful service.

This is not said in prejudgment of the issue regarding the Instituto Tecnico. That question probably requires more data for its final determination than the survey has accumulated. But it must, so far as now appears, be settled in the light of the principles above indicated.

To refer again to the India survey report, the rival theories of what a Christian Association is, set forth in that document, illustrate the problem. Is it a fellowship, a departmentalized educational institution or a service agency? The conclusion reached is that, since an Association has as an avowed aim the development of Christian character, its fellowship aspect is of paramount importance. This is another way of saying that character is a social product and that its development involves attention to the personal life in its totality—not in any fragmentary way as in the rendering of services, however important in themselves. The conception of the Associations as service agencies is a denial of their traditional philosophy just as the conception of the church as an institutional agency misses what is most essential in its definition. The criteria for judging a proposed activity, therefore, are twofold; those which have an external reference, having to do with the validity of the project as socially judged from the standpoint of community need, and those which have an internal reference, relating to the organization itself, by which it is decided whether the activity in question can be made a carrier of Association values. In general, the projects and program features which have the closest and most necessary relationship to the essential purpose of the organization should have first claim upon its attention. The India survey report recommends stress upon reconciliation for the double reason that this is an outstanding need of the India community and that it is in itself most closely related to the genius of the YMCA as a fellowship for the building of character values. This recommendation does not mean that the Association shall embark upon a propaganda program for better intercommunal relations, although this might legitimately be done, but rather that it shall

be by design composed of representatives of the communal groups who will, together and in a spirit of fellowship, address themselves to the many features of the Association program. Once more, the major values in that program are not the direct but the indirect results of the particular projects undertaken.

A discussion of the philosophy of the Associations necessarily involves a reexamination of the theory of membership and membership control. Whatever concessions may need to be made on grounds of expediency, it should be evident that the philosophy of the Associations as here interpreted gives no justification whatever for the limitation of control to "active membership." In fact, the survey reports from the several countries make it indisputably clear that active membership, as such, has lost its significance. The situation with reference to control is quite anomalous. It is a bit ironical, perhaps, that the control question should have occasioned no more resentment than it has. That is to say, if control were democratically exercised even by the active membership, a vigorous protest would probably have arisen in many countries on the part of the associate membership against their exclusion from control. As a matter of fact, however, membership control is so largely a fiction at best that participation in the management of the organization has not been regarded as a coveted prize. Nevertheless the restriction in itself rests upon a wholly artificial distinction which is a perpetual advertisement of organizational inconsistency. This question will be elaborated in Chapter VIII.

If the interpretation of the Associations here offered is correct they are, at their best and essentially, fellowships of men and boys, women and girls, seeking to develop personality, commonly conceived as "four-fold"—actually, of course, multi-fold—in accord with character ideals based upon the New Testament, and particularly upon the personality of Jesus. This proposition has certain corollaries which call for attention.

One is that the Associations sustain a definite relationship to the Christian community and to the church. As already pointed out, that relationship, so far as the newer movements are concerned, is not what the leaders of the older movements recognize

as normative. That is to say, the newer Associations cannot be considered the conscious custodians of Protestant doctrine and religious tradition—save in a secondary sense, which will be elaborated in the next chapter. But it is important here to recognize their essential kinship, in their origin, with the Protestant Christian community at two points: (1) The kind of leadership upon which the Associations depend and upon which, in the view here taken of their nature and function, they must depend, is that which we have seen typically produced by the Protestant Christian community. (2) The lay constituency, both membership and donors, which the Associations tend to build up belongs, in general, to such social and economic groups as feed the Protestant churches. These two considerations are of the utmost significance, in forecasting the rôle of the Associations in non-Protestant countries, as will appear later. It should not be overlooked, however, that if this historic relationship of the Associations with the Protestant community raises most serious problems as to their task and function in non-Protestant countries, it nevertheless becomes a great asset elsewhere. For it enables the Associations to capitalize everything that the Protestant tradition offers, in the pursuit of Association aims, while at the same time transcending creedal lines and liquidating denominationalism—a consummation impotently longed for by the most far-seeing missionaries.

Another corollary of the general definition is this: that implicit in the concept of fellowship for the cultivation of character values is the ideal of internationalism. For there can be no rational or ethical limit to that fellowship unless the missionary tradition which gave birth to the foreign work is to be completely repudiated. The way in which the missionary movement, with all its limitations, has cradled the international ideal is too impressively patent for comment. Here, again, the Associations have a clear advantage of the churches and the missions because they are able to break through confessional lines.

Closely related to the tendency of the Association leadership, already discussed, to approximate a conventional type and of the Associations themselves to suffer a submergence of "movement"

in "institution," is the question of their relation to the student movements of the world which are associated in the World's Student Christian Federation. This is a matter upon which the survey has no pronouncement to make, but the issue faced should be made clear. The foreign work sponsored by the North American Associations, as has been shown, was motivated by the missionary movement and was largely staffed at the outset by former student leaders. The influence of this earlier leadership is still unmistakably evident. It has given a vigor, a freshness, an adventurous thrust to the foreign work. Yet as time passed, the kinship between the Associations and the student movements has become less marked, and a cleavage now appears which threatens to sever the city Associations and the student work in the United States. The separation has already occurred in Canada. Perhaps it is inevitable; perhaps the cleavage between an adult constituency and a body of students cannot be avoided. But it would seem to be clear that the maintenance of a liberal, social, growing Christian philosophy by the Associations will be vastly easier if the contacts with the student world are kept warm.

It remains to speak of certain elements in the philosophy of the YWCA which characterize it as a movement of women and distinguish it from the men's organization. Again and again during the survey what is often referred to as a "feminist" slant has appeared to characterize the YWCA. It is hardly correct to consider the organization as in any strict sense a part of the feminist movement, anywhere in the world. At the same time, the ideology of the woman's movement unmistakably characterizes the YWCA and contributes definitely to its sense of mission abroad. This is quite in line with the liberal Protestant tradition as to the status of women, and is entirely consistent with the aims and the nature of the Association as they are here represented. On the other hand, it would seem to call for caution at two points.

First, a strong preoccupation with the emancipation of womanhood must not render the YWCA indistinguishable from other agencies which exist primarily for that purpose. The Association may consistently concern itself with this task to the extent that

status is conceived to be a condition of personality development and the building of character. Once more, the difference is that between a fellowship that has a continuing purpose and an agency whose *raison d'être* terminates with the winning of a crusade.

Secondly, preoccupation with the woman's movement may easily frustrate a wholesome tendency, which is part of the modern spirit, to bring young men and young women together in the pursuit of mutual cultural and spiritual gains. The spirit of the times, as the youth movements of the world abundantly witness, runs quite contrary to the policy of isolation of the sexes. The Associations have now to discover a means of capitalizing this modern spirit without sacrificing distinctive values in the two organizations. At present the sense of fellowship in the YMCA is distinctly a sense of *male* fellowship. To delete the words "of men and boys" from the often repeated phrase would call for a considerable psychological readjustment. There is resistance on the women's side, also, due both to the protective reaction of a smaller and younger movement and to a sense of greater ethical vigor on the part of its leaders. The evidence at hand warrants experimentation in joint projects, but if there is to be anything in the way of amalgamation, the evidence of it does not yet appear.

CHAPTER VIII

THE INTERRELIGIOUS PROBLEM

A IN the previous chapter, the generalization was made that the Associations are not religious organizations in any technical sense but that they are distinctively Christian in their adherence to a character ideal derived from the New Testament, and, in particular, from the personality of Jesus. In the adaptation of the Associations to foreign environment, however, their origin in connection with Protestant bodies is a factor of much importance. This is evident from two different angles. First, speaking generally, the Associations attract chiefly individuals who are members of the commercial and semi-professional classes from which the Protestant churches have typically drawn their constituency. It is by no mere chance that the Christian Associations in India, for example, are strongest where the Protestant Christian community is strong and that both should have prospered most in the port cities. Again, however remote the Christian Associations may seem to be from the Christian churches in their emphasis upon specific religious interests and activities, they tend to be distinctively Protestant in their ideology. The mere fact that the Christian Associations are not particularly interested in theology and that many a YMCA secretary rather prides himself on his innocence of theological knowledge, shows that the Associations have traveled in the general non-authoritarian direction of Protestantism but have gone much farther on that road than the Protestant communions as a whole. Hence, no matter how serious a quarrel evangelical Christians may have with the YMCA or YWCA on the ground of religious inadequacies or theological heresies, they cannot escape the fact that the faults they see in the Associations are of an ultra-Protestant sort, so to speak, and that, however far the Associations may be drifting from earlier

religious moorings, they are, on the whole, more remote psychologically from Catholicism than from Protestantism. This is a fact of fundamental significance which must be kept in mind in the effort to understand the relationships between the Christian Associations and the religious *milieu* of non-Protestant countries.

Naturally, the Protestant background of the Christian Associations is most clearly evident in their experience in Catholic countries. The contrast is accentuated by emotional factors which have little actual validity. The Catholic Church in all countries is sensitive to Protestant propaganda and tends thus to assume that the presence of the Christian Associations abroad is part of a proselytizing scheme. But this assumption has been shown by the survey to be unwarranted. No proselytizing was discovered. The report of the Polish survey commission, itself a Catholic body, made the absence of Protestant propaganda a conspicuous finding. The Christian Associations are in no sense a part of the Protestant organization. Their Protestantism consists in their emphasis upon Christian liberty for the individual and the "priesthood of all believers." They encourage the individual to think for himself and exalt the authority of the individual conscience. Like many of the Protestant churches, they encourage the discussion of philosophical and ethical problems without constraints or inhibitions.

On the other hand, the opposition of the Roman Catholic Church is readily understood, for from the Roman Catholic point of view it is disastrous to a person to lessen the hold of an authoritarian religion upon his life. The Christian Associations are non-authoritarian and have slight interest in creeds. Thus, Catholics fear the net result of their work among young people will be a tendency to loosen their grasp on religion altogether. In a Catholic country, not only are the young people whom the Christian Associations attract likely to experience a weakening of their allegiance to the Catholic Church—if it is not already weakened—but, say the Catholic critics of the Christian Associations, they tend to lose entirely their religious faith. Even though Association activities are carried on without the slightest interest in winning allegiance to the Protestant churches and even though

they are conducted by those who have a profound respect and emotional sympathy for the Roman Catholic Church, the participation of Catholics in such activities tends very frequently, perhaps inevitably, as Catholic leaders are well persuaded, to weaken allegiance to traditional dogmas which are essential to the Catholic faith. Recognition of this fact on the part of Association leaders might make possible a franker, and therefore, friendlier, relationship with the Roman Church.

All this becomes exceedingly important when it is remembered that one of the emerging ideals of the Christian Associations in their work in foreign countries is that known as inter-confessionalism. The term is loosely used, but it expresses an ideal. It has to do primarily with the relations between the Associations and Roman Catholicism, on the one hand, and the Orthodox churches, on the other.¹ Geographically, the problem of the relation to the Roman Church is much the more extensive. In this connection the situation is briefly as follows.

In Poland, Czechoslovakia, Italy, Portugal, the Philippine Islands and the countries of Latin America one or both of the Associations are seeking to build up constituencies composed of persons who are nominally, at least, Roman Catholics. There is a very wide range of attitude on the part of Catholics with respect to their acceptance of the Roman Church's discipline in matters that are not technically religious. Consequently large numbers of Catholics in all countries patronize Protestant organizations without the formal approval, but with the knowledge, of the priesthood and still retain their Catholic standing. Not only so, but a considerable proportion of the citizens of many Catholic countries no longer acknowledge allegiance to the hierarchy although they may retain some sentimental attachment for it and a certain loyalty to it when it is under attack. It is a matter of common knowledge that many persons who have broken completely, so far as any visible evidence is concerned, with the Roman Church nevertheless return to it in great crises. The attitude of the Association leaders with reference to Catholic

¹ The term "Orthodox" is used in this report to designate any one of the Eastern Catholic churches as distinguished from the Roman Church.

populations is in general that they should leave ecclesiastical questions alone and should attempt rather to make of their Catholic membership "better Catholics." Even so, they recognize that the vast majority of those who participate in Association activities or who serve as board members are of the group above referred to, sometimes called *deraciné*—the religiously uprooted group who have no rigid ecclesiastical loyalties standing in the way of participation in non-Catholic activities. These persons are of course not likely to be made better Catholics, in an ecclesiastical sense, by participating in the YMCA or the YWCA. The Roman Catholic hierarchy definitely disapproves of participation by Catholics in activities that are to any degree religious but which are not under Catholic auspices. In a sense, the more religious such activities are, the more objectionable they are to the Roman Church. It is on this account that the Associations abroad so frequently exclude all specifically religious elements from their program, even to the point of incurring the criticism in America that the work abroad has become secular.

Thus the "interconfessionalism" of the Associations, so far as the Roman Church is concerned, comes down to the inclusion of individual Catholics in Association membership and staff without any *rapprochement* between the Associations and the Catholic Church itself. This limitation is, in general, recognized in the policy of the Associations. This means that the Associations have been barred from any cooperation with the Roman Church in opposing secularism, which is their common foe. From the official Roman point of view they *are* secular. The Roman Catholic Church may look with tolerance on many of the Associations' activities but the underlying opposition to their religious and moral ideology remains unabated. It is important that the Associations understand the real ground for this, which is much broader than ecclesiastical prejudice or jealousy.

In contrast to this situation is the relationship between the Associations and the Orthodox churches. Here an entirely different attitude obtains. The Associations, and particularly the YMCA, have found common ground religiously with the Orthodox churches of Europe. Here interconfessionalism has definite

reality. For the relationship between the Associations and the churches is one of mutual respect and active cooperation. Association leaders are aiming to make their social and educational programs in Orthodox countries a definite contribution to the religious life of those countries, whose traditional faith is highly ritualistic and mystical and is undeveloped on the side of social fellowship and service. It would seem that the term "interconfessionalism" might better be restricted to this type of cooperative relationship rather than used to include situations in which the Associations serve the communicants of a church against the latter's will.

On its face, the Orthodox question is a vastly simpler one for the Associations, because no conflict is implicit in it. Warm friendship has grown up in recent years between the Orthodox churches and leaders of the Protestant churches of the world. The Orthodox churches participated in both the Stockholm Conference on "Life and Work" and the Lausanne Conference on "Faith and Order." The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America has most friendly contacts with the leaders of the Orthodox churches. On the other hand, however, the situation is not so simple as it seems. The Orthodox churches prize very highly their unique character and their essential differences from Protestantism. There is almost as great a contrast in creed and ritual between the Orthodox churches and modern Protestantism as between the latter and the Roman Catholic Church. To be sure, much is made, by friendly interpreters of the Orthodox churches, of the greater degree of lay freedom and democracy in government that characterizes them as compared with the Roman Church. Yet one wonders whether the difference is not more theoretical than actual. The staff was plainly told in Greece that religious work that was not definitely sanctioned by the Orthodox church could not be tolerated in Greece. There is manifestly just as rigid adherence to dogma in the Greek Church as in the Roman. The problem, therefore, of adjustment between such organizations as the Christian Associations with their liberal modern, Protestant outlook and the Orthodox churches is fraught with potential, if not actual, difficulties.

Most complicated does this problem become when it is realized that in the minds of the citizens of Orthodox countries their religion and their nationality have fused together in a complex of sentiment. To be Greek is to be Orthodox and any attack upon Orthodoxy is regarded as virtually an attack upon the national culture. It is something like a case of family loyalty. An unfilial son who treats a parent with scant respect, may fight violently for that parent when an outsider casts some aspersions upon him. Thus a nominal member of the Greek Orthodox Church may pay little attention to his church's teaching, absent himself from the "means of grace" and give little heed to clerical authority because he is not especially interested in religion, and at the same time may fight valiantly for the exclusive right of the church to carry on religious ministrations.

This identification of nationality with religion is, of course, not confined to the Orthodox countries. Broadly speaking, it is as true in Poland, in Italy and in Turkey; to be Polish or Italian is to be Catholic. To be Turkish is to be Moslem. This is probably as true in many Latin American countries and communities, although it would appear that secularism is making more rapid inroads there than in the older countries of Europe. But the problem of the Associations is much more real in the Orthodox countries because there cooperation is definitely desired and sought on both sides. In the Orient, the situation is quite different because loyalties to ethnic religions have in considerable measure dissolved, although at the present time a vigorous movement is being carried on in Japan to revive Shintoism. Christianity has made inroads into the Orient in the realm of ideology and of standards of behavior out of all proportion to the membership which Christian churches and organizations have attained. There is a large tributary community made up of persons who may or may not be actually connected with Christian institutions but who are impressed with the ethical ideals of Christianity and who are well disposed toward Christian movements. What is even more to the point is the fact that in non-Christian countries there is no powerful, centrally organized, religious agency such as

the Roman Catholic Church to oppose unauthorized religious activities.

It should also be said that a further element is injected into the religious situation that we are here discussing. From the realm of industry and commerce Protestant missions and the Christian Associations have had to face, particularly in the Orient and in Latin America, the charge that they are instruments of American economic penetration—as they say in China, “the running dogs of imperialism.” The survey has found no evidence to support this charge. It is a complicating factor simply because it tends still further to identify the Christian Associations with the life and interests of the country of their origin. In the Orient this attitude constitutes a problem by itself because there the identification of the Associations with Protestantism is taken for granted and only those who are not troubled by this identification would be friendly to the Associations in any case. The suspected relation of the Associations to American business interests, however, gives great concern to many Orientals.

With reference to the two major, so-called interconfessional problems—the Roman Catholic and the Orthodox—perhaps the most important thing to be said is that experience will yield more wisdom than it is possible to arrive at by a canvass of opinion. If the *deraciné* Catholic group of young men and young women is likely to increase, then the Associations have not only a legitimate function but a duty in seeking to bring such persons under their influence. In this effort the YWCA is bound to find a more restricted field than the YMCA because of the fact, amply illustrated in the survey data, that the women of Roman Catholic countries are much more closely attached to the church than the men. If, on the other hand, it becomes increasingly difficult to serve Roman Catholic populations without the full approval of the Catholic Church, then it would seem that the work of the Associations is definitely limited in Catholic countries because of the remoteness of a *rapprochement* between the Associations and the Catholic Church.

In the case of the Orthodox churches, cooperation is already established. The problem is one of maintaining it on a

mutually helpful basis. As explained at length in the Greek report, conferences have been held in the last two or three years looking toward full cooperation between the Greek Church and the YMCA, and a working agreement has been drawn up. This agreement has given some concern to the survey staff because on its face it seems to involve a surrender of freedom on the part of the Association to an extent to which it has not hitherto been willing to go. It is altogether possible, however, that the agreement, as drawn, very much over-stresses the church monopoly of all religious teaching and when its major purpose is accomplished, namely, the assurance that the YMCA will not be a center of Protestant propaganda but, rather, will cordially support the Greek Church, the YMCA may have as much freedom in its religious education program as it desires and as it exercises elsewhere. Generally speaking, however, the American YMCA or YWCA would feel that an agreement which implied the sole claim to authority in religion on the part of one ecclesiastical institution involved compromise to a prohibitive extent. Here is a problem which the Associations must work out with great care.

Somewhat different from the problem in Greece and other countries of eastern Europe, is that presented by the work of the YMCA with the Russian *émigré* community in Paris. Here the YMCA, as set forth at length in the report on the Russian work, is cooperating actively with the Russian Student Christian Movement. This movement has a distinct ideology in which national culture and religious factors are blended. It is essentially an *émigré* psychology and the leaders of the movement are fired by an ideal of re-Christianizing Russia. They have looked forward to a subsidence of the Communist dictatorship. With the long continuance of that *régime*, however, it has become increasingly evident that repatriation on the part of the leaders cannot be taken for granted, but the RSCM thinks and speaks in terms of preservation of Russian culture and of the spirit and genius of the Russian Orthodox Church against the day when, even though repatriation is not possible, ways will be found to direct into Russia a stream of ancestral culture and religious influence. As a cultural movement, it has relatively little in common with

the major ideals of the YMCA, which is international in spirit and interdenominational in its scope. There is an esotericism about the Russian movement which is difficult to reconcile with the spirit of the YMCA. The movement in Paris has reverberations among Russian groups in the Baltics which constitute a distinct handicap to both Christian Associations in their work there. The glorification of Russian culture and of the Orthodox Church is foreign to the spirit and practice of the Christian Associations the world round. It is in the face of such limitation that the YMCA is attempting to serve the Russian community. Meanwhile, certain questions regarding the future possibilities of the work and its permanent validity are inescapable. There is something contagious about the Russian spirit and something fascinating about the ritual of the Orthodox Church which have given rise to a strong sentimental attachment to everything Russian on the part of those YMCA secretaries who have spent years in work among Russian people. A sense of common interest and common stake in a restoration of values which the Russian Revolution has apparently destroyed has bound the RSCM and the YMCA together. There was in this situation an obvious danger that both movements might become identified with the monarchic ideal and devote themselves to the ends of a political restoration. That danger is now probably remote, but the fact remains that in its cooperation with the RSCM, as in its cooperation with the Orthodox Church in Greece, the YMCA makes, explicitly or implicitly, certain adaptations in the realm of religious thought and of international outlook which it is not called upon to make elsewhere. In the case of the Russian work, this results in a rather active partisanship toward Russian culture and the Russian Orthodox Church on the part of certain of the YMCA leaders.

On the other hand, there is a vitality in this Russian movement which is found in very few centers where North American secretaries are working abroad. The answer to the questions raised above would seem to depend upon the extent to which the YMCA finds a way, through its leaders, not only to adapt itself to the mind of Orthodox communities but to induce in those

communities a vastly more interreligious and international outlook than now obtains. A fundamental point in the conclusions of the survey is that the YMCA is, in its very genius, committed to internationalism. By the same token it is committed to as broad an interconfessionalism as is found to be feasible. In order thoroughly to justify its present work with Orthodox groups, it must find a way to win acceptance by them of these important Association ideals, which are not fully recognized in Orthodox ideology and practice.

Still different is the interreligious problem faced by the YMCA and the YWCA in Turkey. It is not an interconfessional problem because the prevailing religion in Turkey is, of course, Islam and there is obviously little possibility of cooperation between Christians and Moslems as such. The situation is, however, different from that encountered by Associations *vis-à-vis* the ethnic religions of the East, because the latter do not have or require a monopoly of allegiance from oriental peoples. In Japan, for example, where all Christian movements encountered resistance from the religions of the country, Buddhism and Shintoism are not mutually exclusive and a citizen of the country, by virtue of being a Japanese, is not regarded as being *ipso facto* a Shintoist or Buddhist or anything else. In Turkey, on the other hand, to be Turkish means, in general, to be Moslem. Thus nationalism and religion become blended as forces of resistance to any movement that is considered to be an alien influence. As is explained at length in the survey report on Turkey, there is a wide-spread feeling in the Moslem community, shared by some of the Moslem members of the YMCA and YWCA staffs, that the Christian Associations must suffer a permanent limitation in their appeal for membership and for support so long as they are confessedly Christian movements. This issue has been brought to a head by the survey although it was in no sense created by it. The difficulty is not that the Moslems who are interested in the Christian Associations want them to accommodate themselves definitely to Moslem ideas or to relate themselves in any organic way to the religious life of the community, but rather that they find the word "Christian" a barrier to sympathetic

interest because it is in some degree an affront to the people as Turks.

The problem is complicated and accentuated by the fact that, like other new governments, the Turkish government is exercising a considerable measure of control over organizations that have any religious elements in their programs. The YWCA is more sharply limited than the YMCA because the latter has not only a school permit but a club permit, whereas the former has only a school permit and is technically not as free as is the YMCA to carry on a varied club program. It is, therefore, in a state of constant uncertainty as to just what it may legally do.

This legal difficulty, however, is incidental to the present stage of the political development of the republic and applies quite generally to voluntary organizations. The major question that concerns us here is that of the possible adjustments which the Associations might make to a religious *milieu* which is opposed to Christianity. It is seriously proposed that the American YMCA in Turkey should resolve itself into a holding company to hold the YMCA property, and should turn over the administration of its work to an organization similar in purpose and program to the present YMCA but without the word "Christian" in its title and without any avowed "Christianizing" purpose. This proposal has the endorsement of many members of the Christian community and of the American staff.

This report refrains from making a definite recommendation on the Turkish proposal because the decision involves questions of policy and of administration on the part of the North American movements which cannot be decided on the inadequate data available. The point should be made, however, that no reason appears in the situation surveyed in Turkey why the proposed change, if acceptable to the North American constituency, could not be made by either Association without sacrificing the characteristic elements in its present program. On the other hand, careful consideration must be given to certain elements in the situation, some of which are imponderable. In the first place, what has already been said about the international ideal of the Associations suggests that if their work should pass into

Moslem control, this international ideal might be jeopardized. The work of both Associations in Turkey includes not only Moslems but Greek Orthodox and Armenian Christians. As minorities, the Greek and Armenian groups occupy an inferior status and may have much at stake in the continuance of Christian control of the Associations. With respect to these minority groups, the Associations are doing international work and the effect of any proposed change in their status must be carefully considered. It is probably true that the present Moslem members of the Association staffs are as imbued with the international and inclusive fellowship ideal of the Associations as are the American members, but a Moslem ascendancy in control might operate to the serious disadvantage of the minorities. It should be said, however, that the proposed plan includes a provision that the present status of the minorities will be preserved.

Among the imponderables in the situation is the possibility, even under the present *régime*, owing to the lessening hold of Islam upon the lives of the Turkish people, that the Christian Associations, as they are, may gain greater prestige and make a more effectual appeal to the populace as time passes. There are those who believe that even with the present limitation due to the word "Christian" in their name, the Associations can with patience and persistence gain increasing recognition from the Turkish people. Supporting this view is the remarkable goodwill built up in Poland and Czechoslovakia, for example, by the YMCA even though it represents a religious tradition to which the prevailing religion of those countries is hostile. However, it seems clear that the first reaction to a change of name and control would be a very considerable enhancement of the prestige of the YMCA.

Most difficult of appraisal among the imponderable elements is the distinctive contribution of avowedly Christian leadership in the development of the Associations in Turkey as well as in all other countries where they have been established. A representative of the survey staff was told by Orthodox members of the YWCA staff in Turkey that the American leaders of the movement, because of their religious background, had made a con-

tribution in Turkey which no other group could make. They felt that the religious background of America contributed something in the way of moral ruggedness to these secretaries which was absent in the Orthodox religious tradition. One of the Moslem members of the YMCA staff sought out the survey representative to say that he had misgivings over the proposed change because it might mean the loss of that distinctive contribution of the Christian foreign secretary and that the spirit of the organization might suffer. Of course, the proposed plan contemplates the indefinite continuance of foreign secretaries on the staff. Furthermore, it should go without saying that any change in policy would be disastrous unless leaders in adequate numbers can be found who will safeguard the emphasis, implicit in the "Association idea," upon an inclusive fellowship cutting across religious and national boundaries. The staffs of the two Associations now include Turkish members who have achieved this spirit and attitude to an impressive degree. All these factors must be taken into account in settling the Turkish problem.

The situation in Turkey has been discussed at some length because there the interreligious problem is insistently calling for settlement. It is potentially present in other countries. It must be faced, sooner or later, in India and in the Far East, where up to the present time the Associations have drawn their voting constituency chiefly from the Christian community. Indeed there are strategic reasons, felt by the leaders to be compelling, why the work in India and in China needs protection from exploitation by designing persons with a propagandist interest to serve, and such protection is best afforded by making a definite relationship to the Christian community a condition of active membership.

The discussion of the interreligious question will perhaps hardly be complete without touching again upon the cleavage that has developed between the newer and the older Association movements within the Protestant faith. The withdrawal of the Finnish YWCA from the World's Council because of the latter's emphasis upon interconfessionalism, and the consequent jeopardy to the distinctly Protestant character of the movement, brings this conflict into sharp relief. It is difficult to analyze

this situation, but it would seem that it has two distinct elements. One is the critical attitude already noted on the part of Lutheran and Reformed church leaders of the broad program and social emphasis of the North American movements and those drawing their sustenance from them. Many of the European leaders feel that the newer movements are becoming less distinctly Christian. The other element in the situation is a hangover of the sharp conflict which has gone on in Europe ever since the Reformation between Protestant and Catholic groups. In America the Reformation, as a force making for conflict, has been largely liquidated (save as it gains an anachronistic significance during political campaigns). This is much less true in Europe, where it is felt that Protestant Christianity must be aggressively anti-Catholic in order to maintain its integrity. Some of the German leaders feel that, rather than make the great adjustment which the American YMCA has made in Poland, for example, sacrificing all its formal religious program in deference to the Catholicity of the country, it should have packed up and gone home.

But it seems clear that, serious as this conflict is, it affords no basis for continued opposition between the newer Association movements having leadership from North America and the older movements officered by representatives of the Lutheran and Reformed churches. Reference was made in Chapter IV to the influence of modernity as a world-wide force. The tendency in the American movements which is looked at critically by European eyes is frankly due to this influence of modernity. The American Associations, like the American churches, are facing more and more realistically the challenge of life in an industrial age and interesting themselves more positively and persistently in those social concerns which comprise what is called the social gospel. But the contrast between America in this respect and the countries of Europe is not a fundamental one because the forces of modernity are fast becoming as evident in Europe as in America. Religious loyalties will soon be facing just as sharp a challenge there as here and the clash of cultures and economic systems is even sharper. Indeed, it is probably because of their experience with cultural and economic conflict that many of the

religious leaders of Europe have taken so positive a stand against the modern trend. But a trend it is, and must be reckoned with. Even the German Associations are making their social adjustments, increasing their social service and gradually adapting themselves to the influence of modernity. Conservative resistance is more marked in Europe because conservative roots are deeper, but the stand against the socialization of religious life and purpose and program is, in the judgment of the survey staff, a hopeless stand.

As for the Protestant-Catholic complex, if the discussion in the earlier part of this chapter is sound, there is no reason for a cleavage between different branches of the Association movements on this ground, for there is no evidence that interconfessionalism so far as Rome is concerned can ever be more than a gesture while the attitude of the Roman Church remains what it is. Interconfessionalism in membership and staff, yes, if by that is meant the inclusion in membership of large numbers of nominal Catholics and even a small number of loyal Catholics who discriminate between the spirit of their faith and the ecclesiastical system which it has built up. But a real interconfessionalism, involving a *rapprochement* between Protestantism and Roman Catholicism, seems too remote a possibility to be seriously considered. The YMCA and the YWCA even without specific and conventional religious activities, are thoroughly committed to an emphasis upon freedom, upon the encouragement of intellectual exploration, upon the possibility of interconfessional fellowship and upon rejection of any single ecclesiastical authority.

Implicit in this entire discussion is the question, what does membership in the Christian Associations connote from the religious point of view? The interpretation given in this report of the philosophy of the Associations compels the answer that all persons are qualified for membership in the fellowship which constitutes the essence of the Associations who feel the urge to associate themselves with those who are seeking the personal values and the character qualities for which the Associations stand, qualities which the Associations feel to be expressed in the

personality of Jesus. There are today in the Associations surveyed Catholic and Moslem members, some of them staff members, who cannot be distinguished from their fellows on the basis of any criteria that grow out of what the Associations characteristically do and teach. It follows that whatever limitations the Associations necessarily face *vis-à-vis* Roman Catholicism, Islam, Buddhism, or the other religions of the East, are limitations imposed by those religions themselves. The objective facts disclosed by the survey offer no valid reason for putting up barriers against members of any of these faiths on the ground of their non-acceptance of a Christian theology. Surely, if the movements possess validity and vitality they will generate a leadership which can be trusted to keep them directed toward the fullest spiritual ends for which they are striving.

CHAPTER IX

BUILDING AN "INDIGENOUS" MOVEMENT

WHEN the North American Associations commenced their "foreign work" they adopted, and committed themselves to, a purpose which was shared with the missionary movement. That is to say, they embarked upon a program of establishing in foreign countries "self-supporting, self-directing, and self-propagating movements"—in a word, "indigenous" movements. The word "indigenous" is a part of the vocabulary of both the Christian Associations. While it can be applied strictly only to something more exclusively "native" than organizations introduced from abroad can possibly be, the significance of the word is clear enough to warrant its use here. The original ideal has been held by the Foreign Divisions up to the present time. It is true that a new view of the Christian Associations as world movements, to which the growing ideal of internationalism has contributed, has led many of the leaders of both Associations to contemplate a restatement of aim that will be more consistent with this world view. But the Associations have, in theory at least, maintained the original aim and it was one of the assumptions on which an appraisal of their work abroad was attempted by the survey.

It has been recognized from the beginning that to accomplish this aim required first of all the training of a corps of leaders in each country, the building up of a supporting lay constituency and the equipment of a number of centers which would serve as demonstration places and as centers of influence for the spread of the movement. In general, it has been assumed that substantial buildings and their equipment for a well-rounded program constituted a prime requisite of the establishment of the movement.¹ The Associations came to be conceived as organizations

¹ The YWCA has acted less generally on this assumption than the YMCA, but it is at least implicit in the program.

with a many-sided program and the Association building has therefore tended toward stereotype, with meeting rooms, gymnasium, dormitory and other income-production features. The varied program in itself required a rather pretentious building and the accepted basis of support, calling for income-production features, has made the typical building even more pretentious. As the India report states, the tendency has been to assume that when a building was erected and equipped it would "grow a fellowship" rather than that the fellowship should come first and "grow a building." In other words, the North American movements had gone far in what may be called the institutional stage of their development before the foreign work assumed large proportions and the transplanting of these movements naturally was accompanied by a transplanting of the building type.

A question often raised in the course of this survey is that of the validity of the large building idea. There can be no doubt that many of the buildings have been too great a burden for the youthful Associations to carry. To be sure, the reasons for putting substantial city-type buildings in foreign cities have been plausible enough. The life of a movement may be conditioned permanently by the adequacy or the inadequacy of the start. Obviously if it was hoped that the movement would take root in its many-sided character, a sufficient equipment must be provided to make possible its varied program. Not only so, but the development of a movement depends in part upon the imponderable thing that we call prestige. It must be pretentious enough to attract notice. It must appeal to the imagination of a community. It needs visibility in order to interest and develop a constituency. It is natural to assume that these needs are most effectually met by a building of generous proportions.

On the other hand, in the case of the YMCA, there are many indications that the Association would have taken root in a more wholesome way in foreign countries if it had begun on a simpler scale, as a fellowship movement, organized about the felt needs of men and boys associated in purposeful activities without reference to the question whether or not the movement would develop into what would be called in America "a typical

Association." In Czechoslovakia, for example, where the movement has spread with the aid of typical Association buildings, in one of the centers the reverse method was followed: the activities were allowed to determine the scope of the equipment, and the opinion has been expressed by discerning leaders that this center has had the most wholesome development. To load a movement at its inception with institutional burdens may sacrifice the richest contribution that the nationals of the country are prepared to make. At the very time when the intellectual and spiritual vigor and the social vision which awakened youth can give are most vital to the new movement, these tend to be smothered by institutional demands which they are not equipped to meet. Not only so, but large buildings, erected with foreign money, give to the community whose support is counted on an entirely erroneous idea of the Association, its purpose and its resources.

Whatever criticism the situation as to buildings reflects on the foreign work of the Associations must be shared by the North American movements as a whole. The standardization of buildings and equipment on a large scale inevitably impresses itself upon the personnel, so that secretaries are likely to feel that where there is no "adequate" building there is no Association, and that when the building is erected and in full operation the movement has arrived. If the foreign work is to thrive in new fields, the Associations must be ready to furnish leadership that can plant a movement with a minimum of brick and mortar, persons who find the heart of the movement in something else. Buildings and equipment are necessary to normal Association work and they are not to be discredited merely for being large. The point is that the movement must be as big as the clothes it wears.

These criticisms are not directed against the American type of building, as such. Although the survey staff have been mindful of the oft repeated criticism that western architecture has been superimposed upon oriental culture, no justification has been found for wholesale condemnation of Association buildings on this ground. The mere fact that a building is of western type does not condemn it in the eyes of Orientals who are constantly

substituting foreign and modern types of building and organization for the ancestral forms and finding them good. It is questionable whether the attempt to approximate certain Chinese architectural features in buildings intended to house modern YMCAs and YWCAs is not an over-working of sentiment without cultural value. As far as the survey throws light on the matter the clash of cultures involved in the taking of modern methods of business and education, religion and social service to the scene of an ancient civilization, is not nearly so serious as is commonly supposed. The reason is obvious: these ancient cultures are breaking to bits under the influences of modernity and where the Orientals want western influence at all, they want it with all its "modern improvements."

This is not to say that the substitution of a new for an old culture has not its serious aspect, or that it does not involve great social danger. The question may well be asked whether, in China, Japan, or Korea, for example, the development of new architectural types, new fashions in dress, the substitution of new social customs for old, the invasion by western art, music and drama, are not demoralizing processes. The ancient traditions which are now being relegated have undoubtedly been culture carriers and have facilitated the development of sentiments and sanctions which gave permanence to moral ideals of conduct and concepts of spiritual value, and one cannot contemplate their relegation without concern. But this is only to say that the acids of modernity work fast and destructively where there is so much for them to eat away. The same moral question is raised in every country where the modern spirit is at work. It is not a geographical problem but one of the present age. The substitution of the new for the old is going on by the choice of these modern sons of an ancient civilization and would continue without western pressure. The problem created by the disintegration of ancient civilization is probably not increased by the introduction of modern western schools, churches, libraries and Christian Association buildings. Missionary efforts of North American agencies in the East cannot be successfully assailed

on this ground. The problem of the western Association building arises at a different point and is of a different nature.

The real question about building and equipment has to do with the way in which a movement grows in countries where the resources upon which it can draw are very slender and increase very slowly. In other words, it is not a question of the suitability of the type from a cultural point of view but of its utility in the light of the existing stage of social and economic development. The large YMCA buildings that have been erected in many foreign cities with American money have had the same effect that they would have if built in small towns in America, the resources of which were not adequate to maintain them. It is not altogether unfortunate that money is at present less available than formerly for the erection of Association buildings abroad. This may give the movement time to catch up with its plant. It seems clear that the putting up of large Association buildings in foreign cities with American money should be the exception rather than the rule. They presuppose a rate of institutional development which is remote from reality in nearly every country that the Christian Associations are endeavoring to serve.

This is due not only to the slenderness of resources for the development of voluntary institutions, but also to a reflex influence of this economic factor which is seldom appreciated. That is to say, the Christian Associations, by establishing pretentious buildings in foreign communities, transplant themselves in their institutional phase and make it necessary to develop a leadership capable of assuming responsibility for an institution. Without a long period of incubation in a *movement* such leadership does not materialize. The demand for it is precisely what the countries served find it most difficult to meet. In countries having a high economic development institutional life is far advanced. Particularly in Anglo-Saxon and Teutonic countries a premium has been placed for decades upon managerial ability, fiduciary responsibility, organizing and executive talents—the traits needed for the successful carrying on of an institution. The YMCA and YWCA, as we have said, had arrived at an advanced stage of institutional development when they began their work

abroad and they were able to put in charge of the buildings opened in foreign cities experienced and competent managers. But, in the case of the YMCA, the policy has had an unfortunate result. Young nationals of fine promise who have been caught by the idealism of the movement have been made understudies of secretaries who had difficult executive tasks, for which the nationals had not only no equipment but no background for attaining such equipment. They were often baffled by the institution and disillusioned with the movement. Consequently the cry has gone up, "Oh, for more leadership!" Foreign secretaries have struggled desperately to build up a leadership competent, resourceful, trustworthy, without self-seeking, and have wondered why it has been so difficult. They have forgotten that in more advanced countries these qualities have been developed as a concomitant of an intensive economic and institutional evolution which the older countries have not experienced. Foreign secretaries and missionary leaders are wont to lament the apparent lack in the "national character" which hampers the building of institutions in missionary countries. That this observed lack, whatever it signifies, is not peculiar to any one country, is evidenced by the fact that the same experiences and difficulties are reported from all quarters of the foreign field. The prevalence of this lack is conspicuous among the survey findings. The position taken here is that it is due largely to the economic factors just referred to. Since the YWCA has not had the resources that have been available to the YMCA, these institutional problems, always potentially present, have not been confronted in anything like the same measure.

There is, however, a racial factor which has a practical moral significance and which the Associations and all other agencies seeking to build movements in foreign countries must take into account. To be specific, the Oriental mind, the Slav mind and the Latin mind—using these terms in a cultural sense—do not lend themselves so readily to regimentation and institution building as does the so-called Anglo-Saxon temperament. A person who has spent much time in countries where these racial strains predominate is impressed with the fact that there is no agreement

between their tradition and the Anglo-Saxon tradition as to a *summum bonum* in life. Those traits that put an Anglo-Saxon child in line for high marks in school—accuracy, punctuality, trustworthiness and thoroughness—are not rated so high among other peoples whose standards of judgment are more personal and less institutional. Even here, what appears to be a racial difference may be merely a reflex of the difference already noted in economic levels. In any case, an organization that is seeking to establish itself in countries where this contrast in prevailing traits and ideas is evident must reckon with it and adjust itself to it. Certainly, a catholic and international spirit precludes a judgment of national and racial ideals as necessarily inferior to our own, but on the other hand, it is quite clear that if institutions of the western type are to be developed in countries so different economically and culturally from ours, something approximating what may be called our institutional virtues must be developed. The view is quite admissible that the Indian YMCA secretary or missionary who is preoccupied with questions of philosophy and cultural evolution, or the Japanese YWCA secretary who interests herself in building up a fellowship on the basis of personal contacts and friendships, with little regard to institutional realities, may reflect a more adequate appraisal of life values than the efficient western secretary who builds up a going concern, gets things done and paid for, and sends a faithful and satisfactory report back to America. It is not necessary here to make an ultimate value judgment on this question; the point is that if YMCAs and YWCAs, institutions involving a considerable diversification of activities, are going to be established they must have leaders with administrative ability, a high degree of responsibility, a fiduciary sense, capacity to make plans and to work them. And, which is the crux of the whole matter, unless all signs fail in the realm of economic evolution, the world is moving toward a still greater collectivization of life in which there will be more, not fewer, institutions, requiring more, not less, skill and responsibility in management. Whether the Anglo-Saxon virtues are more or less lovely than the Latin or Oriental virtues, they seem to be those

required by the economic world that is evolving. Not only so, but as we have already noted, this economic road is one that the Orientals and Latins have themselves chosen. They must either develop a type of leadership consistent with that choice or repudiate modernity in the economic sphere.

But this is not to say that Association leadership is comprehended in institutional management. Its main function is something else. As has already been pointed out, the American Associations invaded foreign countries when they were fairly far advanced in their institutional stage but when the countries which they entered were all unprepared to furnish highly developed and specialized institutional leadership. The result was what might have been expected. The pioneering type of secretary who embodied in his or her own personality the Association idea, and kindled interest among nationals in a new movement, had to give place to practical business managers who could run organizations, manage buildings, raise money and balance budgets. Those who should have been teachers have had to be managers. In one of the large countries in which the YMCA has made extensive investments in money and personnel, the surveyors were told that the giants of the old days, the men who went out as heralds of the movement, were gone and no one had come to take their places. True, the laborious task of building an organization and administering its affairs which has been done by the later type of secretary could probably not have been performed by the "giants of the old days," who scattered seed everywhere but did not hold themselves responsible for the cultivation of the field. But they were the spiritual carriers of the movement and as the movements have gone on institutionalizing themselves the duty of turning over the work to national leadership has been put off farther and farther because competent leaders have not appeared. There are many good second and third line men and women among the national recruits, but few of the first line—few who are competent to give permanence and continuity to growing institutions and to lay substantial foundations for the future. The foreign secretaries have tended to be of the promotional type. This tendency is all but notorious. They

have planned buildings and occupied them; have organized activities and "sold" them; have made friends of key people among the nationals and have built up prestige for their organizations. These are all good works; they are things that had to be done, but after years of this type of service a national Association may find itself nearly as far away from the indigenous stage as at the beginning and fearfully awaiting the time when the successful and popular American secretary will be called back home. In other words, while the institution has been growing, the movement has been almost at a standstill. For the movement grows by an educational process, not by promotion. It grows as the secretaries in charge attract to themselves leaders who not only catch the spirit of the movement but are able to perform the institutional functions through which the movement expresses itself.

In general, the promoters are not educators. There are occasional exceptions to this general rule—men and women who can build an institution and who at the same time have a genius for training leaders and inducting them into leadership. While this is an educational gift, it may be enhanced by training. And what is more to the point, the process could be enormously facilitated by giving the mature leaders—whether foreign or national—sufficient freedom from institutional responsibilities to give attention to the movement as a fellowship for incubating Association purposes, interpreting Association ideals and liberating energies for Association work. This is why a movement may be much more vital if it grows fellowship-wise from small beginnings than if it is saddled with extensive plant and equipment.

The problem is, of course, inherent in the very nature of Association support. Coming as it does largely from income-production features, the management phase acquires an importance in leadership quite out of proportion to its significance in relation to the growth of the movement itself. With YMCAs and YWCAs everywhere getting from 70 to 90 per cent of their income from business features and membership fees (which are largely in the nature of payment for privileges accorded), there is no automatic check on their development inherent in the move-

ment itself. Any such check must come from the external environment, social and economic. This results from the fact that business features and, to a considerable extent, revenue-producing program features, are everywhere accessories of the movement, not part of the movement itself. Dormitory residents and cafeteria patrons may be participants in the program, but they commonly regard the Associations as a good place to live and eat. This indicates the institutional peril in which the Associations, because of their nature, must live.

As is doubtless already apparent, the position taken in this report is that leadership is essentially the embodiment in personality of the spirit of a movement, combined with the ability to communicate the ideal to others and progressively to devolve functions upon others. The ultimate test of leadership comes when the leader is "off the job" or has been superannuated from it. For the Christian Associations this means that secretarial leadership must be more and more an educational function and less a promotional function.

This discussion would seem unrealistic if it did not take account of the fact that the diversification of Association programs has made necessary different types of leadership. The call is coming now from many fields for specially trained persons—agriculturists, for example—who can take responsibility for particular phases of the regular program or for special projects. The Associations have always, because of their many-sided activities, required the services of specially trained secretaries, but, broadly speaking, they have been able to give to each specialist a general secretarial training. The insistence of the Association training schools in America, for example, that a secretary for physical education shall be first of all an Association secretary and shall know the essentials of the entire secretarial task, is significant and sound. But the very great diversification of program in the various countries is occasioning a demand for specialists who, it is reasonable to suppose, can render their service in relatively short periods and who can perhaps best be used on short assignments to successive fields. Persons who may fill these requirements may or may not be Association secretaries. It would seem

that the Associations abroad might well make use, for short periods, of specialists borrowed from the field of the social sciences—education, economics, sociology and social work; persons who are not secretaries, either present or prospective. Such specialists, whether Association secretaries or not, would in general not need to know the languages, since they would be working largely with English-speaking secretaries and lay leaders. As time goes on, more and more of this type of service can be rendered by nationals.

In contrast to the specialist, whether an Association secretary or not, is what might be called the “generalist,” and the position taken in this report is that, from the point of view of the movement itself, the generalist is far and away the most important person. By this classification is meant the man or woman, ordinarily a general secretary but not necessarily so, who is qualified to embody the Association movement and to organize people about its ideals, who goes to the field for a long period, usually for life service, who learns the language and becomes identified with the life of the people. Such secretaries are the chief instrumentality through which a movement becomes permanently established in a foreign country. If the right persons are found for such service, and if they remain for a relatively long period on the field, the number of such secretaries in residence at any one time in a country need not, save exceptionally, be large. One of the outstanding problems of the foreign work at the present time is to realize enough service from a secretary to repay the cost of preparation, transportation and maintenance, and to cover the relatively long period required for the learning of the language. In the chapter on Leadership the relatively high rate of turnover among foreign secretaries in some of the fields is shown to be serious. The erroneous impression seems to prevail that the average foreign secretary needs to become proficient in the language and to make a thorough adaptation to the culture of a country—to become virtually naturalized in a country. Yet the average period of service is not long enough to make this practicable. Furthermore, many of the secretaries for one reason or another have great difficulty

in acquiring proficiency in the language, and it is a grave question whether in such cases the attempt to acquire the language is not a mistake. To the foreign secretary who has only a smattering of Japanese or Czech or Polish or Spanish, language preparation is a doubtful asset. It should go without saying that life service foreign secretaries should master the language, and if they cannot master it the presumption is strong against their remaining. But there are many secretaries who can do admirable service for a limited period without attempting the mastery of a language.

It should be noted in this connection that in the Foreign Division of the YWCA, an idea has been gaining currency that the foreign secretaryship should ordinarily be for only a part of the secretary's professional career, after which she may return for service at home. This idea is doubtless inspired by a wholesome regard for the internationalism of the movement, and results also from the increasing difficulty in securing long-time commitments from secretaries who go abroad. Yet, in the view here taken, the theory is a mistaken one because the success of the foreign work requires long-time service by a select group of persons thoroughly equipped for the task and temperamentally suited to it. This is not to say that the foreign service in itself constitutes a separate "profession." It is even a question whether to regard it as a "job," to the extent of transferring secretaries freely from one foreign post to another, is justifiable. But for a given country the foreign secretaryship may well be regarded as a life commitment, except in the case of persons sent out for special tasks.

The question of relations between foreign secretaries and national secretaries is one of first importance, as the results of this survey clearly show. In general, the secretaries sent abroad have shown a fine spirit of fraternity, have to an impressive degree adjusted themselves to new environments, and have demonstrated their ability to form warm friendships among the nationals and to develop a real respect for the national culture. In fact, one of the difficulties at present experienced, particularly in the Orient, is the tendency of foreign secretaries to become

so identified with national cultural interests and political aims that they have put an artificial emphasis upon the seniority of the nationals and have forced the idea of national autonomy. The most impressive illustration of this is in China where, due to a very natural combination of political and economic conditions, the national movements have been led to put great stress upon their autonomy and to insist that the foreign secretaries shall not occupy first rank positions. It should be patent that as rapidly as is consistent with the health of the movement nationals should assume responsibility, but again and again the national principle has been over-worked at the expense of the democratic principle and of the very nature of the Association. The sound basis of allocating functions is that the person shall have responsibility who is best able to carry it. A denial of this principle, however benevolent the motive, brings a whole train of evils. Work is poorly done, officials conscious of their own inadequacy seek to bolster up their authority, intrigues arise in the interest of securing or holding office, and sometimes serious lapses occur in the management of funds. An artificial attitude is built up between the national secretary and his subordinate adviser (who may have trained him) growing out of the former's inexperience and uncertainty. He may risk a blunder rather than undergo the embarrassment of displaying ignorance or incompetence. In short, the situation is unreal and both parties are conscious of its unreality. The foreign secretaries have made marvelous demonstrations of Christian humility under these circumstances, but it is doubtful if the policy results in any good to the nationals or to the movements. It is part of an effort to force growth. The continuance of the foreign secretary in a place of administrative responsibility is not inconsistent with the dignity of an autonomous movement provided it is perfectly clear that he is the person best able to carry that responsibility. It is not suggested that the worst conditions here described invariably result from the policy criticized, but they must be regarded as potential consequences.

On the other hand, undoubtedly the foreign secretaries have often unconsciously dominated the situation too long. In fact, we

have here a vicious cycle: the scarcity of nationals who are equipped to be secretaries leaves the executive burden on the foreign secretary who *tends to be the kind of person who can carry it*; and carrying the burden comes to be second nature to the foreign secretary, who remains a promoter, keeping the reins in his or her hands. This tendency is inherent in the position, and has been particularly apparent in some of the European YMCAs. But, as above pointed out, an excessively retiring attitude on the part of the foreign secretary which results in a spurious autonomy for the movement in question is equally unsound.

The recent abolition of the office of "senior secretary" in the China YMCA illustrates the problem. It has been the policy of the Foreign Division, where it has many secretaries in a country, to designate one as senior, who is, so to speak, the dean of the foreign secretaries and the official representative on the field of the Foreign Division. In China this arrangement was deemed to be inconsistent with the dignity of the national movement, and in 1927 it was abolished. This action raises several questions. First, it is doubtful whether any foreign secretary on the field should have a purely *liaison* function or even a purely advisory function. It would seem to be sounder policy to give such secretaries a definite portfolio either in the national organization or in a local Association. The question is sometimes, however, a purely formal one, for a foreign secretary may be assigned to a particular department when the specific function may be little more than nominal, and the secretary may be retained solely for advisory service or for the sake of giving prestige to the movement in the foreign community.

A more important question, however, relates to the theory upon which responsibility is allocated and the principle upon which financial support is predicated. If there is to be generous cooperation between the Foreign Divisions, through their foreign secretaries, and the national movements, there must be a sharing of responsibility. If a conspicuous effort is made to exalt the office of the national secretary to the extent of leaving him entirely unaccountable for the expenditure of foreign funds,

the real aim of the Foreign Divisions in establishing indigenous movements is not furthered. A strict financial accounting of all foreign funds, a sharing of responsibility for the allocation of those funds, and a joint appraisal of the results of such expenditure are not violations of the autonomous principle but conditions of cooperation between grown men and women.

This question of relationships, official and personal, between the national and the foreign secretaries goes to the heart of the problem of building a national movement. The foreign secretaries are called upon to supply technical knowledge, to lend a steadying personal influence and, sometimes, to administer the organization during its early years. But whatever contribution they make the ultimate test of their usefulness is the extent to which, under their influence, a youthful national leadership grows up. This occurs rapidly only when a sharing process goes on continually from the very beginning. The function of the foreign secretary is really a teaching function, and people are effectually taught only by being inducted into significant experiences. Responsibility suddenly assumed is dangerous, and privileges exercised without corresponding responsibility are demoralizing. The two groups of secretaries should share responsibility at every possible point. They should constitute a fellowship of equals in which no one seeks to hold exclusive prerogatives and no one seeks to exalt, just for the sake of doing so, the prerogatives of some one else.

One of the knottiest problems which the foreign work presents is that of the contrast in economic status between the foreign and the national secretaries. Up to the present time no way has been found to equalize the salaries of the foreign and national secretaries because of the differences in standards of living. The adjustment that has been made is a compromise but not a solution. The policy followed is that of paying the foreign secretary out of foreign funds and paying the national secretary out of national funds. By keeping the two classes of secretaries financially separate, a "show down" on the economic issue is avoided. The nationals have been very considerate in this matter and have taken a realistic view of the living requirements of the foreign

secretaries. Yet it is indubitable that the very great contrast between the manner of life of the nationals and that of the foreign secretaries contributes much to the social distance separating them. Broadly speaking, the two groups cannot live a common social life when the foreign secretaries are assimilated to the life of the foreign community. A sense of social inferiority almost inevitably results on the part of the national secretaries. The survey was asked to throw what light it could on this problem but it must be confessed that no real solution has been discovered. An obvious suggestion would be to limit the foreign secretaryship to persons who approximate the zeal of the first missionaries, who were willing to run great risks and inure themselves to hardships. Viewing the matter realistically, however, every movement as it grows passes from the pioneering stage in which adventurous prophetic spirits are at a premium, to the institutional stage when its leaders tend to approximate a professional status. This is true of the ministry and it is true of the teaching profession. It is coming to be true in the field of social work.

This is another illustration of the problem discussed in Chapter VII, the problem of the relation between the dynamic and the structural aspects of an institution and of life itself. Apart from a very limited number of adventurous spirits to whom all the elemental satisfactions of life—marriage, domestic status, the rearing of a family, and the satisfactions of a congenial *milieu*—are of secondary importance, every group of professional workers regards it not only as legitimate, but as right that a person should live the life normal to his cultural level—that a man is a man first and a professional afterward. This is true of women as well as of men but, as will be noted later, the YWCA has a somewhat different stake from the YMCA in this issue. The prospective foreign secretary of the latter organization, no matter how loyal to the movement, considers provision for his family or those dependent upon him as a first charge upon his capacities. Closely related to this is the conviction shared by most professional workers, even the most devoted, that their employment should give them an opportunity for reasonable

security and for professional growth. In spite of the recognized over-emphasis upon professionalism and the harm that it admittedly does to religious and social work, the fact remains that professional status is generally regarded as a legitimate aim and no movement of any proportions or permanence can maintain itself that does not promise such status to those who give their lives to it. And, broadly speaking, the professional status of Association secretaries is determined with reference to the society to which they belonged at home, the community from which their standards were gained, the country in which their citizenship remains. The problem of economic levels has deep roots. But even though it may not be solved until the economic status of the countries approximates the same level, much can be done to mitigate the conflict of standards. The foreign YMCA secretaries, particularly the men with families, should consider searchingly the question whether or not their establishments are limited to what is required for the maintenance of a reasonable living standard of health and comfort and of professional efficiency. The foreign secretaries' living "compound" raises serious questions from this point of view, as does the missionary compound. An excellent project for the YMCA foreign secretaries would be an experiment in lopping off items of expense in order to discover sacrifices that do not entail serious lowering of the living standard from a cultural point of view, or any unreasonable hardship upon their families. Such experimentation is likely to be rewarding spiritually and to yield returns in fellowship quite out of proportion to the cost. The insidious thing about the "social distance" arising from a contrast in living standards is that the secretary himself is likely to be the last one to sense it. The nationals may talk of it to one another, but they will not tell him. Also, the "rationalizing" process by which one justifies his indulgences knows no limits.

The problem faced by the YWCA secretary is essentially different because most of the women are unmarried and tend to maintain much less in the way of a domestic establishment. Probably as many mistakes have been made among them by seeking to make too thorough an accommodation to the living standards

of the countries in which they reside as mistakes of the contrary sort. Yet, inherently, they too face the danger of maintaining in the heart of a foreign country a little bit of America with the atmosphere of ease and comfort that belongs to an advanced stage of economic development.

The problem of training nationals for staff positions is perennial. Here again there is no one solution; no one adequate or superior plan. Broadly speaking, however, training has two distinct phases—that which is done in the training school and that which is done “on the job.” Since the Christian Association secretaryship is only semi-professional and since a large proportion of the secretaries the world over have not attended training schools, it is obvious that the most important phase of training is that which is given while the secretary is at work. Nevertheless, professional progress would seem to be related to an increase in vocational training. The YMCA with its large and well equipped training schools in America attended by many foreign students, its new training school in Geneva now becoming a project of the world movement, and its Instituto Tecnico in Latin America, has made rather extensive provision for the vocational training of its secretaries. Even so, the majority of the nationals in the various countries who are recruited for secretarial work have to receive their training in the local Associations where they serve, supplemented by conferences and institutes held from time to time. Not a few of the secretaries gain supplemental training in graduate schools in their own countries or in America. The YWCA has trained a considerable number of foreign secretaries in its training school in New York, but here, too, the main reliance is upon training on the field. This fact accentuates what was said above about the responsibility of a life-service foreign secretary for initiating into the movement nationals who give promise of effective leadership.

A word of caution is in order here against the danger of bringing immature nationals to America for training. Cases are not lacking in which exposure to American life and living standards and to the lure of great institutional plants have distorted a student's notion of the Association and have tended to alienate

his interest from his own country. Another result is that such a student may try to reproduce an American Association in his own country on a scale that is both impossible and inappropriate.

The question of financial support is one of the most vexed that the national movements and the Foreign Divisions face. Here the YMCA has only partly lived up to its declared policy which required that it should limit financial assistance to the erection of buildings, maintenance of the foreign secretaries and development of specific projects.² The purpose of this policy was, of course, to insure the attainment as rapidly as possible of independence on the part of the national movement. The policy contemplated that the movement should provide the running expenses of its national and local organizations and support their own personnel. Appropriations made to various projects were considered not as a part of maintenance, but as an aid to the exploration of new fields. The policy appears to be a sound one. In practice, however, the distinction between "projects" and current maintenance has been largely lost sight of. The Foreign Division has tended to make common cause with the national movements, to share burdens and to ask as few questions as possible about the expenditures. The term "project" has come to be used very loosely even to the extent of covering the maintenance of a national council. The motive was brotherly but the effect has been bad. The prevailing practice does serious violence to the principle which was supposed to govern financial policy. If a movement has any financial strength the maintenance of its national organization should be a charge upon its own resources. Both Associations are in serious need of a reexamination of their policy in making appropriations to the movements with which they are cooperating.

To begin with, the word "project" must be freshly and sharply defined. A project should be something that is distinct from the current operating expenses of the movement. This is not to say that a project, in the long view, may not be as important as anything else that is being done or even more important, but it

² The YWCA has not definitely committed itself to this policy.

is something not immediately essential to the life of the organization. Such a project may be of one of three types: (1) It may be a piece of work of an emergency sort entirely outside the sphere of the Association's activities which, in the nature of the case, comes to an end at a reasonably predictable time. (2) It may be an enterprise of a permanent sort which when brought to maturity will be carried on by some outside agency—perhaps by the government, or by a voluntary organization. But even though permanent in itself, its project status from the point of view of the Association comes to an end when it is taken over by some other agency. (3) It may be an enterprise which is closely related to the Association and which in the course of time will be absorbed into the Association's regular activities. Here, too, the work is permanent but its project status terminates when it is "on its feet" and ready to be taken over into the current program and supported out of operating expenses.

Thus it will be seen that all three types of project have a more or less definite life history and they should be financed accordingly. As such, they should be subject to periodical checking—preferably year by year—with an annual reporting of their status. When the Foreign Divisions contribute to such projects, they have every right to such periodic checking up. In fact, even to speak of this function as a "right" is to misrepresent it. It is an administrative duty. Even philanthropy is much more than a privilege. The Christian Associations have no moral right to appropriate money without sharing responsibility for appraising results. This is an obligation not only to the donors but to the Associations abroad which may be permanently injured by receiving unwise appropriations.

Giving to such projects, in general, should be on a decreasing scale, each annual contribution being reduced from that of the year before. Such an arrangement must, of course, be flexible and it is always possible that the time allowed for reaching maturity may have to be extended and the curve of decreasing payments lengthened. But the plan should be closely adhered to in principle, and the national movements should undertake, as a condition of continued cooperation, to build up support in accord

with the schedule agreed on. To depend on foreign secretaries to raise money for the national budgets is bad policy. It drags them away from their true functions, and it lays a wholly artificial basis for future financing.

It would probably be well, in view of its declared financial policy, if the YMCA would discontinue the use of the term "project" in its rather vague and general sense, as, for example, in the expression "Permanent Establishment Project" used in the European area to cover the whole task of building a national Association. This might better be called the "Permanent Establishment Plan" in order that the term "project" may be retained for a usage that is distinctive, definite and serviceable.

Attention should be called to the fact, which should be startling to the Association leaders, that appropriations to national movements have actually tended to halt their development by isolating the national councils from the local Associations. This happens when the national movement arrives at the stage where its autonomy is recognized to the point of leaving to it the entire responsibility of allocating foreign appropriations. The national organization tends to become the child of the North American movements and to support itself and projects related to it largely by these appropriations from abroad, leaving the local Associations without adequate assistance. The point is not that these local Associations should be carried by the national movements, but that the national organizations should struggle with them and for them. The North American movements, intent upon getting the Associations established on a national basis, unconsciously encourage them in projects which make an impression on the country as a whole but which may have little relation to the local Associations. This tendency toward isolation is especially apparent in the YMCA in China, India and Poland. It is much less true everywhere in the YWCA than in the men's organization. Wherever apparent it is one more evidence that when an Association gets away from its peculiar purpose and *raison d'être*—the fostering of fellowships for the building of Christian character—it is on dangerous ground.

It cannot be too strongly emphasized that quite as important

as the plan of appropriations is the basis of estimating the time required for a movement to come to maturity. This brings us to one of the most fundamental questions raised by the survey. The Associations have only one theory of financial support, which divides it into three portions—income-production features, membership fees, and donations. In America, except in times of economic depression, these elements are fairly stable. It is relatively easy here to predict the requirement of a community for service which produces income, to forecast the growth of membership, and to estimate the amount of the public's benevolences. There are, of course, serious fluctuations in these factors, but skillful administrators and surveyors can make fairly accurate predictions. Even a casual glance will show that the situation of the foreign movements is utterly different. In nearly all the countries where the Associations are at work, the political situation is in sharp contrast to that in America and collectivization has been carried very much further. The North American Associations were cradled in Anglo-Saxon individualism and they have always proceeded on the assumption that the work they do and the service they render are of the kind for which individuals out of their own economic surplus will continue to provide. In Europe and Latin America there is at least a strong possibility that the service upon which the Associations now rely to attract a membership and to secure patronage for income-production features will be done in future more and more by the state. The most impressive illustration of this tendency is found in the fact that practically every YMCA assisted by the North American movement has, as a matter of course, received government subventions for some feature of its work. What Americans would regard as improper and dangerous, Associations abroad take quite as a matter of course. With the assumption of educational and social service responsibility by the state, not only is there a reduced sphere for program activity but the support of such institutional activity tends to come more and more from the state through subsidies, and the donor group becomes less important. To the American mind the most serious question that this raises is the danger of political control, and indeed this is

not to be viewed lightly. The survey has disclosed at least one case of very serious governmental interference with an Association in time of political stress, as a result of its dependence upon the government's subvention. However, in general, such interference has been astonishingly slight, due no doubt to the non-partisan and non-propagandist character of the Associations' work. The seriousness of the situation, viewed in its practical aspect, lies rather in the fact that it is impossible to predict future bases of support for the Associations in countries which are rapidly becoming collectivized. Under such circumstances it is difficult to formulate financial policy and to forecast the duration of necessary assistance.

This issue is sharpened in central and eastern Europe and in the Far East by the advance of state socialism. Whatever theory of government may prevail, it is a reasonable assumption that we shall see more rather than less collectivism. This may mean momentous changes to which the North American Associations, cradled in "rugged individualism," must adjust themselves. It will compel the Associations abroad either to lean heavily upon governments for support or to discontinue many of their activities. Which course should be followed experience alone can dictate. It should be clear that resources held and prestige maintained at the expense of the Associations' most characteristic and significant contribution to individual and social life can only mean a betrayal of mission. A conspicuous loss in "program features," while disguised as an institutional misfortune, might be in reality a stimulus to new life, forcing the Associations to self-realization as fellowships, which they essentially are. On the other hand, the Associations must be ready for a situation in which highly socialized and progressive governments may become a normal source of support for exactly the kind of work the Associations are most anxious to do, without any impairment of their freedom or distortion of their nature. The uncertainty in the situation calls for an elastic financial program and unceasing study and experimentation.

The Communist challenge is of a different sort. The Associations have found no way to function under Russian Communism

and while its present attitude toward religion continues they can scarcely expect to do so. But the situation out of which the Communist "menace" grows is decidedly their concern. Unless they are contributing something to the thought and experience of the countries they serve which will affect the ultimate choice of political and economic theory their programs are unreal. It has been pointed out that the YMCA and the YWCA "types" tend inevitably to become conventional. This applies also to their program stereotypes. The history of the YMCA's industrial program in America is well known in this connection. Conceived as a service, maintained with the cooperation of industry, it has confined itself to a "zone of agreement." Latterly it has become evident that the things that mattered most for the future were in the *zone of disagreement*. The Associations abroad will be wise if they do not lay for themselves too deep foundations in things as they are. Their problem is the building of permanent movements, not mere institutions. A serious weakness of the Christian Associations, as of the churches, is their adaptation to but one economic environment. They tend to assume that their fortunes are bound up with the present economic order. There is every reason why the Associations should avoid alliances with communistic movements in the East, but in the present state of world affairs it is equally unstatesmanly for an organization with a program of moral betterment to dig itself in behind the lines of the capitalist order. If the Christian Associations are, as they profess to be, truly non-political, no reason appears why they should not be prepared to function, whatever the material sacrifices involved, under something other than the present politico-economic system. The uncompromising stand of the Soviet against religion closed the door of Russia to the Associations and thus they avoided a "show down" on the economic issue. If that issue later presents itself unmixed with theological questions, the Associations will find themselves called on to make one of the most important decisions in their history.

No clearer indication was given by the survey than that of the wisdom of substituting an intensive for an extensive ideal of development. Concern over "occupying" the field should be

secondary. It is vastly more important to build permanently in one field than to "occupy" many. Not only so, but the Associations, in their nature, require a long time to come of age. This applies to both the "movement" and the "institutional" aspects. There would seem to be a moral obligation, where an Association has been launched, to see it through. Even after a national Association is "on its feet" statesmanship on the part of the Foreign Divisions may dictate cooperation in projects that will enrich its life rather than entrance into a new country. New beginnings should never be made on impulse or because some person of wealth has an interest in a particular field. Broadly speaking, they should be made only after a careful consideration of all the factors conditioning future growth. Prominent among such factors is the existence of a nucleus of interested, intelligent, influential and representative persons who are able, along with reasonable outside help, to give leadership to the movement, to sponsor it effectually and to secure resources for it. The existence of such a group in a country is much more important than any number of "calls" for help from North America. If it were always made a condition of entrance into a new country and if an Association were allowed to grow naturally from such a beginning, the embarrassing and perplexing problem of "turning over" the movement to the nationals would never arise. It should go without saying that on every proposal to establish a new movement or to assist one the judgment of the World's Committee concerned should be given much weight. Above all, it should be remembered that the two movements are to be judged not by the proportion of the world that they occupy but by what happens where they are.

As already stated, the gift of buildings from America should be the exception rather than the rule. This conclusion follows inevitably from the conviction that until a movement has grown to the proportions where it can assimilate a building it is likely to be hampered by having one. As an expression of a growing movement, the building should reflect its economic resources. The process of financial development should be unitary, and this is made impossible when plant and equipment are acquired with-

out any commensurate effort on the part of the national movement itself.

The criteria of withdrawal from a country are difficult to prescribe. Reference has already been made to the question that has arisen vaguely in the minds of leaders as to the validity of the original statement of aim. That is to say, the desirability of leaving a movement "on its own" even when it is able to stand alone is not nearly so clear as at the beginning. The ideal of internationalism and the concept of the Associations as world fellowships have been gaining ground rapidly. These ideals are, Christians believe, not merely "epiphenomena" of expanding industry and commerce, but ultimate spiritual concepts for which institutions must be ready to live or die. Much is heard on the field today concerning the advantage of having an international staff in every national Association. The process of coming of age has produced not only a sense of independence but a sense of interdependence. In the light of these expanding ideals and rewarding experiences, why should the North American Associations think in terms of withdrawal?

The answer involves a paradox. It is abundantly clear that the establishment of a movement on a permanent basis is definitely related to the development of national resources in money and personnel. Until a movement has a national economic base, a national ideological base and a national personnel base, it cannot be said to have attained security. Before it can achieve an international character it must become a national entity. This does not mean a *nationalist* entity. The attempt to identify the Association with a majority national group to the disadvantage of minority groups is wrong, contrary to Association philosophy and prejudicial to future development. What is meant is rather that a movement must have a firm foundation in the country to which it belongs. Until this comes about it is exotic. The obstacles to such an achievement are both internal and external. Not only inadequacy of economic resources and of competent personnel, but an excess of benevolent help of both kinds may bar the road to adulthood. Therefore, a complete, or virtually complete, withdrawal of secretaries from a country may be necessary

in order to insure a test of vitality on the part of a movement, even though the same or other representatives of the North American movements may be sent out later. But if they are, they will go on a different basis—on the initiative of the national movement itself, and at its own expense.

It is not reasonable, nor is it consistent with the Christian missionary motive which inspired the foreign work of the Associations, to suppose that the North American movements should cease making investments in personality and in wealth in foreign countries as long as they have something that others need. While there is between countries a difference of economic potential, resources will normally flow out to find their level. Also, the outward thrust of a movement is an indispensable source of its own spiritual renewal. Thus the goal of the foreign work is always particular and relative. It is not a "permanent project" of the North American Associations, but a continuing phase of their life. Yet it would be better that every secretary should return and all appropriations should cease than that the beneficiaries of this benevolence should find it an impediment to the attainment of maturity.

Having emphasized the dangers besetting the process of building a national Association movement and mistakes that appear to have been made in the past, the survey staff desires to record its judgment that, on the whole, very gratifying progress has been made by the Foreign Divisions with this enormously difficult task. By and large, the movements which have been established in countries abroad with the aid of the North American Associations have rooted themselves in the national soil to such an extent that only serious adversities encountered in their subsequent development would destroy them.

CHAPTER X

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

THE first conclusion to be drawn from this survey relates to the nature and function of the Christian Associations that have been studied, since all judgments concerning their effectiveness and all recommendations as to policy are influenced by the view taken as to what the organizations themselves essentially are.¹ It should be emphasized, however, that no generalizations here made are intended to apply outside the area of the survey. This study has not included the Associations in North America, except with reference to the supporting constituency, and has not included in any measure the movements in Great Britain, Germany and various other countries where large portions of the membership of the world movements are found. Its scope has been limited to those movements in which the North American Associations are, or have been recently, cooperating. The survey was aimed at an evaluation of the work being done with the aid of the North American movements and particularly of the contribution made by these movements.

It will be apparent, however, that the conclusions as a whole rest upon a necessary assumption as to the nature of the work in North America. Specifically, it is assumed that the work surveyed abroad has sufficient continuity in purpose and character with the movements in North America to justify it as an expression of the spirit of these movements. This means, of course, that the Associations abroad constitute essentially a united movement. In spite of the very great variety in program, environment, stage of development, and national and racial temper which the survey has disclosed, the movements studied the world over

¹ In interpreting the conclusions which follow, the reader should bear in mind that the field survey was terminated in 1930 and that all statements of fact, except as otherwise indicated, are to be understood as of that date.

manifest an inherent unity and no reason appears why they cannot be developed on an increasing scale as units of world movements of which the North American Associations form integral parts.

Subject to the reservation noted above, the survey finds the Christian Associations studied to be, essentially and irreducibly, fellowships for the development of personality in young men and young women, boys and girls, in accord with a Christian character ideal, central in which is that presented in the personality of Jesus. This does not mean that the Associations are everywhere running true to this type or that they do not frequently stray far from the norm here indicated. It means rather that they reveal an actual or potential unity on the basis of this concept and that only on this basis can any real integrity be found in them, taken as a whole. It means also that when, as sometimes happens, an Association tends to become a mere service agency, opportunistic in program, it tends to depart from its true function and to become just one agency among many, a creature of its immediate environment and without continuity of life or distinctiveness of function. The Associations, as such, do not have the technical and professional equipment to enable them to become part of the regular social work organization of a community or a nation, and, if they did, the loss of their distinctive quality as character-building fellowships would render their appeal to the Christian community at home invalid, and their missionary history meaningless.

This does not mean that the nature of the Christian Associations limits them as to the possible range of their activities, any more than a marked historic unity in the missionary enterprise has prevented missionaries from vigorous and effective work in a variety of fields into which they have been led by manifest human need. It does mean, however, that when the Associations embark upon social exploration or community service they do so consistently only when such activities are an expression of their own character and an expansion of their fellowship experience.

The question so often raised as to the religious character of the Christian Associations makes necessary a specific word on

this point. The Associations are religious in the very important sense that they are led, for the most part and at their best, by men and women to whom their religious experience is real and vital. These leaders are, in the main, not theologians, nor are they especially interested in the doctrinal aspects of Christianity. But where they run true to type, their work is religiously motivated and they depend consciously on spiritual resources. At the same time the Associations are in marked contrast to the churches in that their philosophy and their program are not essentially linked to particular sets of theological views. This non-doctrinal character of the Associations is in considerable measure the key to their adaptability to varying religious environments.

On the other hand, and paradoxically, the Associations, *vis-à-vis* Roman Catholicism and the Orthodox churches, have, in fact, a distinctively Protestant character in that, however hospitable they may be to other faiths, they adhere strongly to the principles of freedom of thought and the primacy of the individual conscience. Indeed, instances are not wanting of complete identification of the Associations with the Protestant missions and even of a proselytizing attitude. It is the judgment of the staff, however, that when the Associations are most truly themselves and at their best, this identification does not take place.

It will be noted that in this attempt to define the Christian Associations no distinction has been made between the YMCA and the YWCA. Whatever may be said of the difference in philosophy between the two Associations in North America, in the countries surveyed their resemblances are much more marked than their differences. The essential character above indicated they share. The one conspicuous element differentiating the YWCA from the men's organization is its preoccupation with what may be called the woman's movement the world round. This interest is "feministic" only in a restricted sense. It is an inevitable expression of an outreaching fellowship of women, international in its scope. The difference in social philosophy, often commented upon, between the two Associations in America is less apparent abroad. In fact, the relationships between the

two Associations in the countries studied are impressively close, and, barring the difficulties growing out of differences in resources and period of operation and the common masculine tendency to dominate a situation where cooperation is attempted, the YMCA and the YWCA are the same kind of organization. On the other hand, the differences mentioned, added to the marked differences in status between men and women in the countries served, make any proposal for amalgamation of the two Associations, such as is occasionally suggested, extremely doubtful. This should, of course, not be interpreted to mean that greater cooperation between the two movements is not needed. On the contrary, it is emphatically to be desired that continuous sharing of experience and counsel should be cultivated, to an extent far greater than is at present the case, between representatives of the two movements abroad and more especially of the North American administrators of the world service programs.

Before offering specific criticisms and recommendations a general appraisal of the foreign work is in order. The declared aim of the Associations in North America in launching the foreign work was to assist in founding "self-supporting, self-directing and self-propagating national movements." This aim, which has been pursued with fidelity, is as valid today as when the work was started. An evaluation of the work itself is rendered difficult because the Associations in the various countries present many contrasts in respect to form and content of program, financial strength, indigenous development, and quality of leadership. But on the whole, it is fair to say that the work being carried on abroad with the aid of the North American Associations has a marked degree of vitality, shows a large measure of resourcefulness, has courageous and sacrificial leadership, has a recognized genius for discovering social needs and mobilizing resources for meeting them, has a superior strategy in dealing with inter-racial, international and interreligious problems, and is, at its best, in line with the major world trends of the present day. The enterprise as a whole is well worth the support of the Associations' constituency in North America. The goal of the effort has not yet been reached but a substantial achievement

has been recorded. The continued existence of the national movements in China and India in the face of great odds due to political, economic and religious unrest offers impressive evidence of the vitality of the national movements that have been established. The foundations have not everywhere been so securely laid, but the process of giving rootage to the new movements is, in general, going forward.

The conclusions of the survey group themselves naturally into major, general findings which are significant for the future policy of the work as a whole, and specific findings having to do with individual movements. The general conclusions will be discussed first.

A primary consideration arising out of what has been said concerning the nature of the Association movements is that of membership. Here, the prevailing practice is quite out of line with reality. Membership in the Associations should mean participation in the processes by which they pursue their character-building ends. Such participation, as already pointed out, is not determined by reference to the holding of any creedal position. Some of those who are kept in the "associate" class because of inability to subscribe to any evangelical test are among those most completely identified with the moral and spiritual aims of the movements. Conversely, many who by religious affiliations are placed in the "active" category are remote from the fellowship in thought and in life. As rapidly as possible the Associations which are working in non-Christian or non-Protestant communities should find a way to square their membership policy with the realities of the situation they face. Until this is done, they will occupy an anomalous position in that they are making theological distinctions which have no visible relation to their essential purpose or to their programs. In so far as criteria of membership emerge from an objective appraisal of the work itself, no sufficient reason appears why any person otherwise qualified should be barred from exercising the duties and privileges that go with active membership if he or she subscribes to Christian standards of conduct and is seeking to embody Christian ideals in his or her own personality. Of such qualifications on the part

of persons seeking membership it would seem that the fellowship itself is the best judge.

This readjustment is rendered difficult by the fact that the main reliance of the Associations for support of the foreign work is upon a group of persons who have been nurtured in the Protestant church tradition, and who have been trained to give to missionary enterprises. But at the present moment there is a growing recognition on the part of the North American constituency—though perhaps more especially in the United States—that the Associations have departed from traditional missionary aims. On the other hand, we are witnessing a marked lessening of confidence on the part of the Christian community in America in the missionary movement as traditionally defined. These two considerations make it necessary that the foreign work be continuously reinterpreted to the constituencies of both Associations. The necessity for such reinterpretation is both ethical and practical. First, the Associations owe it to their donors to give a continuously accurate picture of what their money is spent for. Secondly, they must, if their constituency is to be depended on through the years, carry the donors along with them by a continuous educational process. Central in this new effort at interpretation must be the international and interreligious aim of the Associations. While the Associations abroad share with those in North America their essential nature as character-building fellowships, they have the distinctive quality of being responsible for the extension of this fellowship principle, which is the essence of the "Association idea," on an international and interreligious basis. This fact gives the foreign work its *raison d'être* as an object of American giving and validates its appeal to the constituency of the Associations.

Particular stress upon this point seems warranted because of the decision taken in August, 1931, by the National Council of the YMCA in this country to place the foreign work once more in the hands of the International Committee. No judgment is here expressed upon this *fait accompli*, but there is serious danger that it may mean making the administration of the foreign program and responsibility for it less immediate con-

cerns of the local Associations. In the long run the foreign work can justify itself only as an integral part of the Association fellowship program and as the expression of a spirit which in its nature transcends national boundaries and is world-wide in its interest. If the world service program becomes merely a project to be carried out, a commitment for which the money must be raised in one way or another, the enterprise will have lost its spiritual and educational significance.

It follows that the world service programs of the North American Associations should be so administered as to preserve a close and cooperative relationship with the world movements. The World's Committees are not now attempting to administer the Association program and this is not to be thought of at present. But there is room for much more cooperation, joint planning and continuous counsel than now take place. In general, the decision on any important matter of policy, such as the decision to enter or withdraw from a country should not be taken without consultation with the World's Committee concerned; and the withholding of approval is a strong *prima facie* argument against any such measure proposed.

Another point of major importance is that the building of an indigenous movement requires long and intensive effort. It is better to build solidly in a single country than to weaken resources by entering several. It is better to build solidly in one center within a country than to force the spreading of the movement from city to city. This does not mean that the North American movements should merely set up "demonstration centers" which can then be copied elsewhere: it means that strong local Associations are the *sine qua non* of national movements and that, once established, they will themselves yield the dynamic for their propagation.

There is no field in which this principle of intensive, as over against extensive, effort requires stricter application than that of leadership. This will always be the case, since the heart of every Association lies here, but it is of special importance at the present time in view of the conditions disclosed in this report. The major immediate task now confronting the Associations

abroad is that of finding youthful leaders in the several countries, and training them for Association work. The recruiting and training of an indigenous secretariat are now hampered by several factors: (1) the fact that the movements do not make an effective appeal to a sufficient number of able young men and women; (2) the predominance of institutional responsibilities which tend to deaden the idealism of recruits and to require of them a type of service for which the youth of nations that have not progressed far in economic development have scant preparation; (3) the lack of security through adequate compensation and provision for retirement, which are universally looked for in most of these countries by young people contemplating a professional career. The first two of these handicaps can be in part removed by strengthening the Associations in their "movement" aspect and by avoiding extensive institutional development until an adequate leadership has been developed. The third difficulty must be grappled with directly by incorporating in the financial plans of the Associations, from the beginning, provision for adequate compensation and for retirement funds. This need not result in lengthening the period required for the establishment of the movement since the principal cause of retardation at present is the disappointingly slow development of national leadership.

The problem of an indigenous secretariat leads back immediately to the North American staff, among whose primary functions are those of securing and educating such leaders. The difficulties of adaptation to a new climate and culture, and the time required for the processes of significant growth, are such that, in the opinion of the survey staff, those secretaries who are sent out to plant the "Association idea" and to be the main carriers of the movement should be prepared to stay abroad for long terms, possibly all of their best working years. Their work is a distinct vocation and requires skill in conducting group activities and familiarity with educational principles as well as understanding of, and an enthusiasm for, the Association's ideals. In a word, their task consists in developing a group of people who understand the movement and who believe in it, in becoming centers of influence in a growing fellowship, and in preparing

others, in their turn, to embody the movement. The foreign secretaries should, in general, be not of a predominantly promotional or executive type but of an educational type—persons who are always happier in training others to do the necessary tasks than in doing them themselves. They should have definite portfolios either in the national or the local organizations, since it is extremely difficult to be a useful counselor and guide if one has no visible and continuing function. Finally, they should master the language and culture of the country sufficiently to have ready access to current publications, and unrestricted intercourse with their indigenous colleagues and with the general community.

In addition to such "generalist" secretaries, the movements may profitably make use of specialists, not necessarily Association workers, who can instruct others in the specific techniques which the activities of a given center may require. Such persons can usually make the desired contribution in a relatively short time, and knowledge of the language need not be required. It is, however, clear that it is on the first type of secretary, the "generalist," that the movements must chiefly depend.

In the nature of the case, with limitations of time and money such as they are, the training of the indigenous secretaries must be done mainly while they are in service. Inasmuch as the techniques required are such as may be learned best through actual participation and use, the best way for an Association secretary to acquire those resources that distinguish the vocation from others is in carrying out the actual work of the Association under the supervision and guidance of experienced secretaries who embody the movement. Individual and staff conferences throughout the year are central to this process, and should be supplemented by training institutes, seasonal conferences and "retreats." In all of these a major part should be played by the foreign secretaries. In addition, there is, of course, reason to encourage secretaries to take advantage whenever possible of such educational opportunities as may be available in local universities and schools.

The training plan here advocated should not be confused with ordinary "apprenticeship" methods now in use in many As-

sociations. It definitely contemplates local Associations in which the "Association idea" is a living reality and in which the leading secretaries are of the "educator" type already described. Nor does it mean substitution of "personality" for culture, knowledge or skill. The leaders of the movements should measure up to the highest educational and cultural standards of the country. Preferably, all candidates for secretaryships should be of college or *gymnasium* grade. It is likewise desirable that a limited number of nationals of each country be trained in one of the official schools maintained by the movements, and that, in general, all the long-term foreign secretaries should have such training experience at some point in their careers. The basic training for the service, however, must take place in the local Associations. This judgment is recorded without prejudice to efforts that are made in North America to place the Association secretaryship, and preparation for it, on a more nearly professional basis. It is rather a judgment based on the work abroad as the staff has seen it.

This brings us to the very difficult matter of relationships between foreign and national secretaries and the "devolution" process by which responsibility is taken over by the nationals. The establishment of an indigenous movement, as the term is used in this report, requires a blending, not often approximated in the present policies of the Associations, of educational processes with sound business administration. The autonomy of the national Associations is more than a principle to be enunciated: it is a goal to be achieved by patient effort. Specific responsibilities should be allocated not wholesale but gradually, as the nationals become ready to exercise them. Premature assumption of responsibility for the use of foreign funds does not accelerate the attainment of independence, but impedes it. As long as funds are furnished from foreign sources the use of them should be determined *jointly* by the nationals and the foreign secretaries. The movements grow by a sharing of responsibility, never by seizing it or by artificially bestowing it. Funds should be given in accord with a definite plan, on a diminishing scale and subject to joint determination of policy and joint appraisal of re-

sults. The goal should be a completely national movement having its economic base and its personnel base within the country. If a permanent international secretariat is desired it must be created by the national movement itself after it has attained an independent existence. Such maturity is the result of a long and slow process of growth in which the material aspects of the movement—buildings and equipment—will be the normal expression of its strength and not a sudden acquisition made possible by foreign funds. The growth of resources for current expense and the increase in capital account should be one process, not two.

An error that has been made often enough to warrant a warning against it is the concentration of assistance from North America on the national organizations to the detriment of the local Associations. It results from two causes. One is the tendency on the part of the North American Associations to foster from the beginning the development of a national organization which can exercise autonomy and which may become the active instrument for spreading the movement locally. The other has been the corresponding tendency of the national organizations to make their own growth and security a first charge upon the resources furnished from outside the country. They tend to retain money for projects other than those in which the local Associations are concerned. Thus it has come about that instead of a normal relationship between the national body and the local Associations in which the former should be the creature of the latter and dependent on them, the reverse tends to be true. This is wrong from every point of view. The foundation of the movement is the local Associations. They constitute the character-building fellowship in operation. To focus attention on the central body is to encourage both artificial means and unreal measures of growth. It fosters opportunism and spectacular undertakings. It makes the movement top-heavy. It puts a premium on the wrong type of secretary. The national organizations should function preeminently in spreading the movement by founding and cultivating local Associations and giving them guidance with reference to Association policies and techniques. They should be

coordinators of general Association efforts, clearing houses for information, special resources of the weaker Associations in emergencies, and agencies for training secretaries for their work. They should not be regarded as embodying the movement, for they are derivatives of the movement, which is basically local. What the YMCA calls "project subsidies" and what the YWCA calls "program appropriations" should never be made in lump without a definite plan for allocating the funds. Mostly, such funds should be allocated by the national organization to local projects, although training is a particularly appropriate object of foreign appropriation and gifts for this purpose should be expended through the national organization exclusively.

The process of building an Association movement abroad should begin before the decision is made to furnish aid from North America. The nucleus of the movement should be formed and its potentialities as far as possible determined before the North American movements agree to furnish aid. Foreign co-operation should begin only when the nascent movement shows definite signs of vitality and promise of substantial development. Such considerations, and not the availability of designated funds, should determine priority among claims for North American aid.

While no detailed study of the administration of the Foreign Divisions was made in connection with the survey, certain pertinent facts with reference to this emerged during the study of the work abroad. It is apparent, first, that the policies of both Foreign Divisions have tended to be opportunistic to an excessive extent. A degree of opportunism is necessary, since continual adaptation must be made to changing conditions. But this can be accomplished more intelligently if plans are made with the long view and if an effort is made to foresee contingencies. The better the plan the more readily modifiable it will be. It must be said in fairness that the abnormal financial situation in the YMCA during the past few years has made statesmanly planning difficult, but, on the other hand, this situation itself is due largely to a failure to take account of predictable events at the time when the war work was liquidated.

In particular, the Foreign Divisions should build their budgets

with reference not only to a rational estimate of realizable resources but to the specific interests of the constituency. The budgeting process and the income-production process should be integrated. Not only so, but the income requirements should be scaled to the normal rate of growth in the interest felt by the constituency in the world service program. This does not imply an uncritical following of popular demand, but the work should not be developed along lines that the constituency will not support with intelligent enthusiasm. Pressure finance may balance one year's budget but it is in the long run a breeder of deficits.

The YWCA must provide for a much more extensive cultivation of the constituency than is now going on since the economy program has cut dangerously into this vital process. Any curtailment of this function inevitably results not only in the shrinkage of financial resources, but in the enervation of the entire Association movement through the stopping of those international channels through which the blood of the movement flows.

Again, the Foreign Divisions should accept a larger degree of responsibility for the effectiveness of the work done on the field. This applies with especial force to the YMCA. In the past, a meticulous concern for the autonomy of the national movements has been allowed to obscure administrative vision. Recent conferences between Foreign Division and national representatives show that the latter are willing to recognize the propriety of joint planning, allocation of funds and appraisal of results. All this is implicit in the ideal of sharing.

There is room, also, for improvement in the recruiting process. This comment is more especially applicable to the YWCA in the United States. Its declared policy of regarding the foreign service as a normal part of the Association secretary's career is out of line with the requirements of service abroad. Hence, the motive of widening experience, becoming familiar with the woman movement abroad, and the like, will not suffice, so far as the major secretarial positions abroad are concerned. The recruiting process requires an appeal that will have the reality, while lacking the sentimentality, of the missionary call of a generation ago. Nothing short of a vocational devotion will suffice. Recruit-

ing must take account of this fact. It is better that fewer secretaries go abroad than that any should go unprepared to undertake responsibilities the discharge of which only a long-time commitment will make possible.

An outstanding administrative need is closer contact between each of the Foreign Divisions and the other departments of the respective organizations. The most notable instance of this need is the lack of facilities for channeling out to the YWCAs abroad the experience, knowledge and vision of the industrial department of the National Board. The efficiency of the work abroad requires that every department in which North American secretaries are working on the field should maintain contacts with the corresponding departments in the North American Associations. This does not mean that administrative responsibility should be divided: the foreign work is sufficiently distinct to require its own administrative organization. The point is that a way should be found whereby all the foreign secretaries can avail themselves of all the accumulated experience in the home Associations that is relevant to their tasks.

The extent of the foreign service makes direct contact with the field very difficult, but it is important that more frequent contacts should be made between the Foreign Division of the YWCA and the field than have occurred in the past. The most conspicuous contrast between the two Associations, administratively considered, is the elaborate provision for contact with the field in the YMCA and the scant provision for it in the YWCA. Lacking a staff of administrative area secretaries the Foreign Division executives should themselves visit the field more frequently and secure a closer contact with administrative problems. The present contacts might be strengthened materially by more systematic field reports and a more regular correspondence.

Adoption of the recommendation already made concerning administrative relationships with the national movements abroad would secure a greater degree of promptness and adequacy in dealing with financial and personnel problems arising on the field.

A perennial problem of the foreign field is that of maintain-

ing spiritual fellowship among a group of secretaries, some of whom enjoy superior economic status. Economic status determines cultural advantages and is an index of what psychologists call "social distance." The scale of living of the foreign secretaries isolates them in imponderable ways from the nationals; they belong to a different economic order. This is said with full appreciation of magnificent sacrifices made by some of the foreign secretaries in accepting the limitations of foreign residence and the consequences to their families of a virtual expatriation. But the difficulty is basic and cannot be glossed over. It can be remedied ultimately only by the raising of living standards the world over, but it is worth considering what the effect would be in our day of sending to countries where wretched living standards prevail men and women who find it possible to make a renunciation of comforts and of security comparable to that made by the first missionaries. In addition to these considerations the present scale of living provided for the YMCA foreign secretaries aggravates the problem of readjustment to conditions in America, where the provision for secretaries is less extensive.

With reference to special problems now confronting the movements on the field, the following should be said:

1. The situation in Turkey calls for a large measure of courage and statesmanship on the part of both movements. The decisions to be made involve certain practical questions which only the Foreign Divisions can determine. They involve also, however, a question of the philosophy of Association work upon which the survey finding is clear: Without passing upon an issue of policy which the Association movements in North America must decide in the light of many factors, not all of which are taken account of in this survey, the staff records its judgment that even if the movements in Turkey cannot become in the early future, or at any time, Christian organizations in the theological sense, the North American movements could justify continued support of the work in Turkey on the basis of the same type and quality of program and achievement which they now chiefly rely upon to justify their efforts elsewhere.

2. The relations of the YMCA with the Orthodox churches

in the Russian work in Paris and in the Greek Association need to be reexamined in the light of Association philosophy and of practical expediency. To the extent that the Protestant tradition of the movement narrows its religious outlook, *rapprochement* with the Orthodox churches means progress. But to the extent that such *rapprochement* means a surrender of individual freedom and of group initiative in the realm of religious thought it runs counter to Association history and does violence to its spirit. Also, the work in Paris has been closely identified in its ideology with the *émigré* political philosophy. To give encouragement to hopes of a restoration in Russia is a disservice to the Russian Student Christian Movement and inconsistent with YMCA policy.

The most important aspect of the situation is the influence of the Russian Student Christian Movement, as carried on in Paris, upon the work of the Christian Associations, both YMCA and YWCA, in the Baltic States. There the influence of the Paris group has been a brake on the international and interconfessional drive of these other movements. Under these circumstances it becomes a question how far the Foreign Division should allow its support of a movement to jeopardize in any measure such fundamental ideals of the Associations as internationalism and interconfessionalism. It is only fair, however, to say that the Foreign Division is aware of the difficulties inherent in the Paris situation and is working toward correction of the tendencies here referred to.

Aside from these considerations, the practical question arises whether the work in Paris, presenting as it does a considerable contrast to typical Association work, should not become a "project" of interested religious groups in America and cease to be a drain upon the depleted resources of the North American movement. The staff records no final judgment on this point. The work itself has real vitality and should be conserved.

3. The India survey report makes clear the importance of a fuller identification of the movements with the life of the country. The YWCA in India as now conceived is too limited in its outreach to appeal to the American mind. While the present pro-

gram for Anglo-Indian women and girls is a very necessary and a creditable piece of work, a Christian Association in India which makes no significant contribution to the lives of the Indians themselves cannot permanently justify itself. The YMCA presents a very different picture, but here too, the challenge of intercommunal and interracial strife is not being fully met. India presents an outstanding opportunity to both Associations to test out their basic principle of association for character-building ends by addressing themselves to the task of group reconciliation.

4. The China situation needs a special strategy at this time, particularly on the part of the YMCA. An artificial situation has grown up there in which unwholesome emphasis is put upon the supremacy of the nationals. This is more apparent in the national headquarters than in the local Associations. The national movement is overgrown in proportion to the local Associations, and is too little responsive to them. The adaptation of the foreign secretaries to the national psychology has become a sacrificial virtue on their part but an influence of doubtful quality upon the nationals. The movement should be but slightly dependent on North America for funds, which should now be limited to projects carefully selected and defined. The guidance of foreign secretaries is doubtless still needed, but the mood of the movement has been such as to make effective assistance difficult. The survey staff, however, see signs of definite improvement in the situation and believe that initial steps have been taken which should lead to further fruitful cooperation between the China YMCA and the North American YMCAs.

The Foreign Division of the YWCA while not facing a critical situation in China has a similar problem of administrative policy to work out.

5. If the new YMCA building under construction in Jerusalem is to realize the potentialities of its strategic position and unusual equipment, then it must house an Association eager to function as a means of reconciling the religious factions in the Holy Land. It should offer to Christians, Jews, and Moslems alike an opportunity to come together in fellowship and mutual appreciation. It should symbolize the universal appeal of the As-

sociation. In order to attain such an end, in an atmosphere unusually tense with politico-religious strife, all idea of proselytizing must be rigidly excluded. The most constructive method will probably be to concentrate on work for boys and younger men, building up through proved Association group activities a body of participants committed to Association ideals. The experience of both Christian Associations in Egypt, Syria and Turkey will furnish valuable leads. Owing to the fact that the young people of Palestine, of all races and creeds, are used to having things done for them, great care should be exercised in determining fees so that all who participate may do so on a self-respecting basis.

6. The Instituto Tecnico, in Latin America, presents a serious financial problem. The present indication is that it will either have to become a training center or centers serving much broader purposes than those of a YMCA training institution or it must be liquidated in the near future. Unless the demands of the Latin American movements for secretaries should be phenomenally increased in the next few years, there can be no justification for maintaining the Instituto Tecnico at such great cost. An alternative to the present policy would be to maintain it entirely by special, designated funds, outside the budget. In any case, if the North American movement is to continue to contribute to the support of the Instituto Tecnico, it should be on a carefully planned project basis, with contributions on a diminishing scale, in accord with the principle set forth in this report. Ample time must, of course, be allowed for independence of outside support to be fully achieved, since the institution owns no building and has no endowment. The readiness with which the constituency in Latin America comes to the support of a training plan—the most essential element in an autonomous movement—will be the best measure of the extent to which the roots of the movement have penetrated the native soil.

In conclusion, a word should be said about the peculiar contribution, actual and potential, of the North American secretaries to the work in which they are cooperating. Their achievements in organization, in giving stability to the movements they serve,

and in building up constituencies for them are universally recognized. Not only so, but there is abundant testimony to the intangible contribution made by the North American secretaries in terms of character and in the fostering of ideals of Christian living. These contributions are of undoubted and permanent significance. Much more may be accomplished, however, as the North American secretaries come to realize the educational possibilities of their positions and the paramount importance of their task of training. These representatives of the North American movements are peculiarly equipped by character and social heritage to teach the techniques of cooperation in the attainment of the larger purposes of Association work.

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